



विद्या प्रसारक मंडळ, ठाणे

Title	:	Ethnological Society of London
Editor	:	Huxley, F.R.S.
Publisher	:	London : Trubner and Co.
Publication Year	:	1869
Pages	:	469 pgs.

गणपुस्तक

विद्या प्रसारक मंडळाच्या

“ग्रंथालय” प्रकल्पांतर्गत निर्मिती

गणपुस्तक निर्मिती वर्ष : 2014

गणपुस्तक क्रमांक : 091

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY
OF LONDON.

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

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*To whom all communications should be addressed, at the office of the Society,
4, St. Martin's Place, W.C.*

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY.

APRIL.—1869.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

Ethnological Society of London.

FOR THE

STUDY OF THE HUMAN RACE IN ALL ITS VARIETIES, AND IN
ALL THE PHASES OF ITS HISTORY AND PROGRESS.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1868-69.

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TIMOR MEN.

(By permission of the Author of "The Malay Archipelago.")

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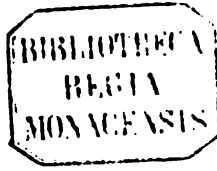
NEW SERIES.

VOL. I.

SESSION 1868-69.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 60 PATERNOSTER ROW.

1869.



Printed by TAYLOR and FRANCIS, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

in Vol. I. No. 2.

(SIR W. ELLIOT. *Population of Central and Southern India.*)

- Page 94, in fifth line from the bottom, *for two read ten*
 94, in third line from the bottom, *after as insert it*
 99, in the note, first line, *before the word sect insert " marking quotation.*
 99, in the note, third line, *for Sanivásis read Saniydasi*
 100, in note †, fourth line from the bottom, *after tival dele semicolon and insert a comma.*
 104, in line 6, *for process read progress*
 104, in line 13, *for Dhanzars read Dhangars*
 106, in line 12, *for Petwaur read Rewáh*
 106, in note †, *for 350 read 554*
 106, in note †, *for Sherwill, pp. 408-10 read Ch. Miss. Intelligencer, 1860, pp. 165-6*
 106, in note ¶, *dele , p. 582.*
 107, in line 5 from the bottom, *for Elliott read Elliot*
 107, in note *, *for Madras Christian Herald read Sherwill*
 108, in line 3, *for Elliott read Elliot*
 108, in line 26, *for Brahminical writers read the Brahminical writer*
 109, in line 17, *after occasion add note, ‡ Trans. Prehist. Congress, 1868, p. 253.*
 110, in line 3, *for Coimbratore read Coimbatore*
 110, in line 6, *after milk, dele of*
 111, in line 22, *for admiration read adoration*
 112, in line 23, *for secution. Their read secution, their*
 126, in line 5, *for They read The latter*
 128, in line 16, *for Agni-Kula read Agni-kula*

. This list has been received from the author subsequently to his own revision of the paper.—ED.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF THE

CAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

MAY 1869.

As far as regards the general condition of the report as satisfactory as that of the prece-
dence of new Fellows has been about the ave-
last three or four years. The following names
on our list since the anniversary meeting of

sq.
M.D., F.R.S.
ondeley.
nwell.

nilton, R.E.
l Stewart.

Esq., F.R.S.

sq.
rson, Esq.
F.R.S.

Eugene Morris, Esq.
John Morris, Esq.
J. H. Blackwell, Esq.
J. H. Backhouse, Esq.
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Professor Joseph Henry.
Dr. Joseph Leidy.
Professor F. V. Hayden.
M. Bastian.
Professor Carl Vogt.

Corresponding Member.

George Dennis, Esq., Smyrna.

as the satisfaction to report that the papers
brought before the Society, during the session
led, have been of a very high character, and
are already received promise well for the re-
session. Those read since the anniversary
and the exhibitions, which led to discussions,

1868.

the Treatment of Lepers among the Hill
By Dr. Archibald Campbell.

- On the History and Migration of Cultivated Plants—exhilarants—Coffee, Tea, Cocoa, &c. By John Crawford, Esq.
 Supplementary Remarks on the same subject. By Dr. A. Campbell.
- June 23.* On the Characteristics in the Dialect and Formation of Skulls of the Natives of Formosa. By Dr. Schetelig.
 On the Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries. By Dr. Shortt.
- Nov. 10.* On the Abyssinians. By Dr. Blanc.
 On the Discovery of Cromlechs in India. By Captain Cole.
 On the Khaasia Tribes. By Lieutenant Steel.
- Nov. 24.* Exhibition of Objects found in Peruvian Grave laid open by the late Earthquake. By Mr. Leigh.
 Exhibition of Antiquities and Bones, animal and human, recently found together in excavations at Walthamstow. By Mr. Wood.
 On the Tehuelche Indians of Patagonia. By Mr. Consul Hutchinson.
 On the Cyrenaica. By Captain Lindesay Brine.
- Dec. 8.* On some Flint Implements found associated with Roman remains. By Colonel Lane Fox.
 On the Westerly Drifting of Nomades from the 5th to the 19th century. Part I. A.D. 1218–1868. By H. H. Howorth, Esq.
1869.
Jan. 12. On the Growth of a new Superstition relating to the possession of Lion Shillings. By Hyde Clarke, Esq.
 On the Westerly Drifting of Nomades. Part II. By H. H. Howorth, Esq.
- Jan. 26.* Exhibition of a Stone Armlet found at Lukoja on the Niger, and of a Bronze Spear-head, with its original shaft, obtained from Loch Gur, Co. Limerick. By Colonel Lane Fox.
 Exhibition of Chinese Coins and Medals used as Talismans and Charms. By W. H. Black, Esq.
 On the Proto-ethnic Condition of Asia Minor, the Chalybes, Idæi Dactyli, and their Relations with the Mythology of Asia. By Hyde Clarke, Esq.
- Feb. 9.* Exhibition of a Gold Torque recently discovered under eight feet of peat in the County of Sligo. By Mr. John Lucas.
 On Stone Implements from the Cape of Good Hope. By Sir John Lubbock.
 On Cromlechs. By Hodder Westropp, Esq.
 On the Distribution of Megalithic Monuments. By Colonel A. Lane Fox.
- Feb. 23.* On some Flint Implements found in the Isle of San José. By Don Alfonso Steffens.
 Reports on the customs connected with childbearing among the Natives of New Zealand. Communicated by Dr. Hooker.
 Remarks on a Cromlech in Australia. By F. Acheson.
 On the Cave Cannibals of Southern Africa. By W. Layard.

- Mar. 9.* On the General Ethnology of India. By the President.
 On the Characteristics and Origin of some of the most Remarkable Classes of the Population of India. By Sir Walter Elliot.
 On the Races of India as traced in existing Castes and Tribes of India. By George Campbell, Esq.
- Mar. 23.* On the Lepchas and other Tribes around Darjeeling. By Dr. Archibald Campbell.
 An Account of the Lepchas. By Dr. Hooker.
 On the Archæology of India. By Colonel Meadows Taylor.
 An Account of Cromlechs in Nagpoor. By Major Pearse, R.A.
 On some of the Tribes on the north-western Frontier of India. By Major Fosberry, R.A.
- April 13.* Exhibition of an Original Portrait of Montezuma. By R. E. Hodges, Esq., late Vice-consul for Jacmel, in Hayti.
 On the Physical Geography and Geology of North America. By the President.
 An Account of the Aztec Tribes of New Mexico and Arizona. By Dr. A. W. Bell.
 On the Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches. By Morton C. Fisher, Esq.
- April 27.* Notes on some of the principal Tribes of the Indians of the United States, with a brief Account of the late Indian War. By William Blackmore, Esq.
- May 11.* On New Zealand and the Polynesian Isles. By the President.
 On the Social Life of the Ancient Inhabitants of New Zealand, and the National Character it was likely to create. By Sir George Grey, K.C.B.
 Observations on the New-Zealanders and some of the Melanesians. By the Bishop of Wellington.

The Council have had under consideration the measures desirable for obtaining a greater measure of popularity for ethnological studies. With this view a series of special meetings have been held, by permission of the Director-General Sir Roderick Murchison, in the Theatre of the Royal School of Mines, to which ladies have been admitted.

These meetings have been largely attended, admittance being eagerly sought, and a valuable addition has been made to the privileges of the Fellows. Two of these meetings were devoted to Indian ethnology and archæology, the Council being of opinion that it is a matter of public duty to promote the study of the history and condition of the numerous populations of our Eastern Empire. The other evenings were appropriated respectively to the North-American Indian tribes, and to the races of New Zealand and Polynesia.

For the illustration of these subjects the Council have caused

maps to be prepared, which, though adding to the expenses of the present year, form a valuable addition to our permanent stock. One of these is a map of the world, showing the distribution of primeval races, arranged by the President.

The illustration of these subjects has been greatly assisted by the exhibition of two large and valuable collections of ethnological photographs—one formed by Dr. Forbes Watson, and contributed by the India Office, and the other relating to the North American Indians, collected by our colleague, Mr. Blackmore.

The proceedings of each meeting were opened by an address from the President, explaining the physical geography and ethnological distribution of the region to be discussed. The results of these meetings will be brought together in the Quarterly Journal, each number being devoted, as far as practicable, to a distinct subject. The Council hope to continue these meetings during the next session.

Whilst congratulating the Society upon the success of these meetings, the Council have thought it desirable to give a more scientific character to their ordinary meetings; and the measures proposed for that object will be detailed hereafter.

Amongst the measures which appeared to the Council necessary to give greater effect to the operations of the Society was the conversion of the volume of Transactions into a Quarterly Journal of the Society. This has been accomplished; the first number has been published, and the second is in progress.

At an early period of the present session mutual endeavours were made to arrange an Amalgamation of the Ethnological and Anthropological Societies; the Council regret that the negotiations did not arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. They are still prepared to consider any proposals which may appear calculated to produce the desired result.

The accounts for the year are presented as usual. The Society's operations have always been on a limited scale, and its heads of expenditure are few. On the present year will fall the outlay consequent on the change of administration; and it will have to bear the expenses of the yearly volume and of the quarterly journal, as well as of other disbursements. The result will be to give the Society greater efficiency; but it is only by an increase of the income that the Council will be able to provide for many desirable arrangements.

In consequence of the attention drawn by our Vice-President, Sir John Lubbock, at the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology, held at Norwich in the course of last year, to the great loss which our science has sustained from time to time by the wanton destruction of megalithic monuments throughout the kingdom, the Council considered it advisable to co-operate with

ed upon that occasion in taking steps for their
 of assistance have been received from various
 s on the present condition of these monu-
 of preparation in various districts. These
 addition to our stock of papers for the en-
 place the Society in a position to recommend
 ay be thought desirable for their preservation

late eminent President, Mr. Crawford, has
 Society which it will not be easy to replace.
 e in all branches of Ethnological study, and
 se attention which he devoted to the business
 too well known to the Members to require
 his Report. It is, however, proposed that a
 guished service which he has rendered to the
 ould be inserted in a future Number of the

et to have to announce on the present occa-
 of Mr. Wright from the honorary secretary-
 as rendered valuable services to the Society
 . The Council have nominated Mr. Wright
 residents.

ie Society are also due to Mr. Nash, who has
 honorary secretaryship since the last annual

enlarge the sphere of the Society, and at the
 note a closer study of the several branches of
 rease the number of workers, and to define
 ich, in such a manner as to avoid confusion,
 thought it desirable that certain departments
 ized. The following measures are therefore

OFFICERS.

he Society shall consist of the following hono-

ecretary.—Functions.—To be in constant communi-
 sident, and act under his directions, to take mea-
 the necessary supply of papers and other communi-
 at the Meetings of the Society ; to prepare before-
 of the Council Meetings according to the form here-
 In the absence of the Assistant Secretary, to keep
 proceedings of the Council ; to communicate with

programme of the "special" and "ordinary" meetings from them, in concert with the President; to give effect to the decisions of the Council, and to undertake, with the assistance of the Assistant Secretary, all such general correspondence as does not fall within the province of the Special and Sectional Secretaries. He will read the minutes of the last meeting at the special and ordinary meetings. In the absence of this functionary his duties will devolve on the Assistant Secretary.

III.—*Secretary for Publications.*—Functions.—To superintend, with the assistance of the Sub-Editor, the publication of the Society's Journal; to undertake all correspondence with the printer and publisher; to prepare and arrange all cards, bills, and notices, &c., ordered by the Council, and cause them to be issued; to prepare, or cause to be prepared, reports of all the meetings for the press, and superintend all advertisements and notices of meetings; to superintend generally the issue of invitations; to encourage the attendance, and to make arrangements for the accommodation of the reporters of the press, and to superintend all other matters relating to the press. He will keep the minutes of the Committee of Editors. In the absence of this functionary, his duties will devolve on the Assistant Secretary.

IV.—*Foreign Secretary.*—Functions.—To promote the interests of the Society abroad, with the assistance of the Assistant Secretary; to make abstracts of the proceedings of foreign societies, and other foreign publications, for the Quarterly Journal; to communicate with foreign local secretaries, and to undertake all foreign correspondence. In the absence of this functionary, his duty will devolve upon the Assistant Secretary.

V.—*Sectional Secretaries.*—With a view to promote a closer study of the several branches of ethnological science, and to establish a division of labour, without which no institution can be carried to a successful issue, Sectional Secretaries will be appointed from time to time as opportunity offers. The several branches to which Secretaries will be appointed will be as follows:—

1. *Biology*: On the study of man as a member of the animal kingdom.
2. *Comparative Psychology*.
3. *Sociology*: The study of man as a social being; of his morality, religion, laws, customs, industry—in short, of all that constitutes civilization.
4. *Archæology*: The study of the monuments and other remains of ancient forms of human civilization.
5. *Philology*: The study of the affinities and classification of languages.

The Functions of the Sectional Secretaries.—Each Sectional Secretary will act independently in collecting information, papers, and other communications relating to his particular branch, and in enlarging the sphere of his section, undertaking all correspondence especially relating to it, and communicating with the General and Local Secretaries in all matters relating to their particular provinces. The papers

and other communications received by Sectional Secretaries will be handed over to the General Secretary, who will arrange the materials for the "special" and "ordinary" meetings from them; and all communications in excess of those read at the "special" and "ordinary" meetings, or which may appear too technical for such meetings, and therefore better adapted for "sectional" meetings, will be returned to the Sectional Secretaries, who will then organize sectional meetings, and take steps to promote the attendance of persons especially interested in the subjects to be discussed.

VI.—*Local and Departmental Secretaries*.—To consist of persons in the country and abroad, who are willing to promote the objects of the Society. They will communicate with the General and Sectional Secretaries in their respective provinces.

VII.—*A Treasurer*.—To superintend all matters relating to finance.

VIII.—*A Librarian*.—To take charge of the Society's Library, announce donations at the ordinary meetings, and return thanks to the donors.

IX.—*An Assistant Secretary and Sub-Editor*, with a salary to be fixed by the Council per annum. Functions: To act as assistant to the General Secretary, Secretary for Publications, and Foreign Secretary. He will attend at the rooms of the Society every day at the time fixed by the Council; he will attend the Council Meetings, and make the fair copy of the minutes in the minute-book; he will assist in the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Secretaries. All correspondence received by him will be laid before the several Secretaries to whose functions they belong. He will superintend the preparation of all maps and illustrations for the meetings, under the direction of the General Secretary, and of the Sectional Secretaries for the Sectional Meetings. He will superintend the arrangement of all illustrations in the room previously to the meetings, and see that they are removed afterwards. He will take charge of the articles exhibited. He will take charge of all communications immediately after they have been read, and collect the reports of the speakers. He will edit the Quarterly Journal, under the direction of the Secretary for Publications, and in conformity with the rules laid down on that subject. He will call the meetings of the editors in accordance with the rules. He will superintend the issue of all publications and notices, under the direction of the Secretary for Publications. He will give instructions to the clerk for his guidance. He will attend all the meetings of the Society, and undertake all the routine work of the Society.

X.—*A Clerk*, with a salary to be fixed by the Council per annum. He will act under the immediate directions of the Assistant Secretary. He will issue all circulars and notices. He will take charge of all maps, illustrations, and exhibitions, under the direction of the Assistant Secretary. He will superintend the admission of Members and visitors, and keep the direction-book of the Society.

XI.—*A Collector*.—To collect the funds of the Society, under the directions of the Treasurer.

MEETINGS.

It is requisite to recognize a double element, popular and scientific, requiring to be separately treated.

Special Meetings.—To be held in some place capable of accommodating a large number of persons. Ladies will be admitted. The subjects will be popular, and calculated to secure the interest of the public. The arrangement of the papers will, as a general rule, be *ethnographical*, i.e. *arranged geographically*. The programmes will be arranged by the General Secretary, with the sanction of the Council. Special invitation cards will be issued.

Ordinary Meetings.—To be held in the Society's rooms. Ladies will not be admitted. The subjects will be scientific, and their treatment such as will be calculated to promote close study of the subjects. The arrangement will be for the most part by sectional subjects.

Sectional Meetings.—To be organized from time to time by the Sectional Secretaries as their materials accumulate. The subjects will relate exclusively to the special branches. Men of science especially prominent in each particular section will be invited to take the chair. The minutes will be kept by the Secretary of the Section, who will be encouraged to promote the enlargement of his own section by every means in his power, without clashing with the other sections.

COUNCIL MEETING.

With a view to facilitate the transaction of business, the General Secretary will prepare a list of agenda for each meeting, which he will lay before the President, commencing with the ordinary routine in the order following, the *heads* of which will be *printed* in a minute-book.

The President will announce each subject in the order following :—

1. *Minutes of proceedings of the last Meeting* to be read by the General Secretary and signed.

2. *Report of the Treasurer*, who will state the balance at the Society's bankers as compared with the preceding year; and will make any statement he may think desirable relating to questions of finance.

3. *Report of the General Secretary*, containing the announcement of resignations on the part of ordinary Members or Officers of the Society, of new members proposed, of new officers to be proposed, of papers in hand or in preparation for the Society, and of any matter concerning the general working of the Society which he may deem necessary to lay before the Council, and the reports of the Sectional and Local Secretaries.

4. *Report of the Secretary for Publications*, giving an account of the proceedings of the Committee of Publication with respect to the Quarterly Journal of the Society, and stating its cost for the current year up to the date of the meeting, or as nearly as is practicable. Proposals for exchange of publications will be dealt with in this report. The

number of papers in the hands of the Committee of Publication will be stated, with the names of any of those which are ordered to be printed, and an estimate of the cost of printing.

5. *Report of the Foreign Secretary*, mentioning deaths of foreign Members, bringing forward propositions to fill vacancies in the list of foreign members, and bringing before the Council any statement he may think advisable in connexion with the foreign relations of the Society.

6. *Report of the Librarian*, enumerating books &c., presenting them, and proposing thanks to the donors, proposing purchase of books for the library, reporting upon the state of the library and its catalogue.

7. *Proposal of new Ordinary Members*.

8. *Propositions or statements of Members of the Council* in regard to the business of the Society.

9. *Announcement of Meetings of the Society or of its Sections, and of the papers to be read at them*.

The following appointments have been made in accordance with the foregoing arrangement :—

General Secretary—Colonel A. Lane Fox.

Foreign Secretary—Dr. Hyde Clarke.

Departmental Secretary for India—Dr. A. Campbell.

Sectional Secretary for Philology—Dr. Hyde Clarke.

Sectional Secretaries for Archæology—W. Boyd Dawkins, Esq., F.R.S.; T. M^cK. Hughes, Esq., F.G.S.

Sectional Secretary for Biology—P. M. Duncan, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Sec. G.S.

Sectional Secretary for Comparative Psychology.—H. Brookes, Esq.

Ethnological Society of London,

FOR THE

STUDY OF THE HUMAN RACE IN ALL ITS VARIETIES, AND IN
ALL THE PHASES OF ITS HISTORY AND PROGRESS.

4 ST. MARTIN'S PLACE, CHARING CROSS.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1869-70.

President.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, LL.D., F.R.S., PRES. G.S., ETC.

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 1850. De Grey and Ripon, Right Hon. Earl. 1 *Carlton Gardens*.

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 1863. Huxley, Professor T. H., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., Pres. G.S. PRESIDENT. *Museum of Practical Geology; and 26 Abbey Place, St. John's Wood. N.W.*
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 1867. Maclure, Andrew, Esq. *14 Ladbroke Square, Notting Hill.*
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1867. Tylor, Edward Burnet, Esq. VICE-PRESIDENT. *Linden, Welling-ton, Somerset.*
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- 1854.*Walker, J. S., Esq. *The Bury, Hunsdon, Ware.*
- 1854.*Walker, T., Esq. *Beulah Road, Tunbridge Wells.*
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 Pictet, M. *Geneva.*
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 -General Sir Henry, K.C.B., F.R.S. 1 *Hill Street*,
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Heidelberg.
 Ritter von. *Vienna*.
 s, Esq. *Copenhagen*.
 Director of the Ethnological Museum, *Copenhagen*.
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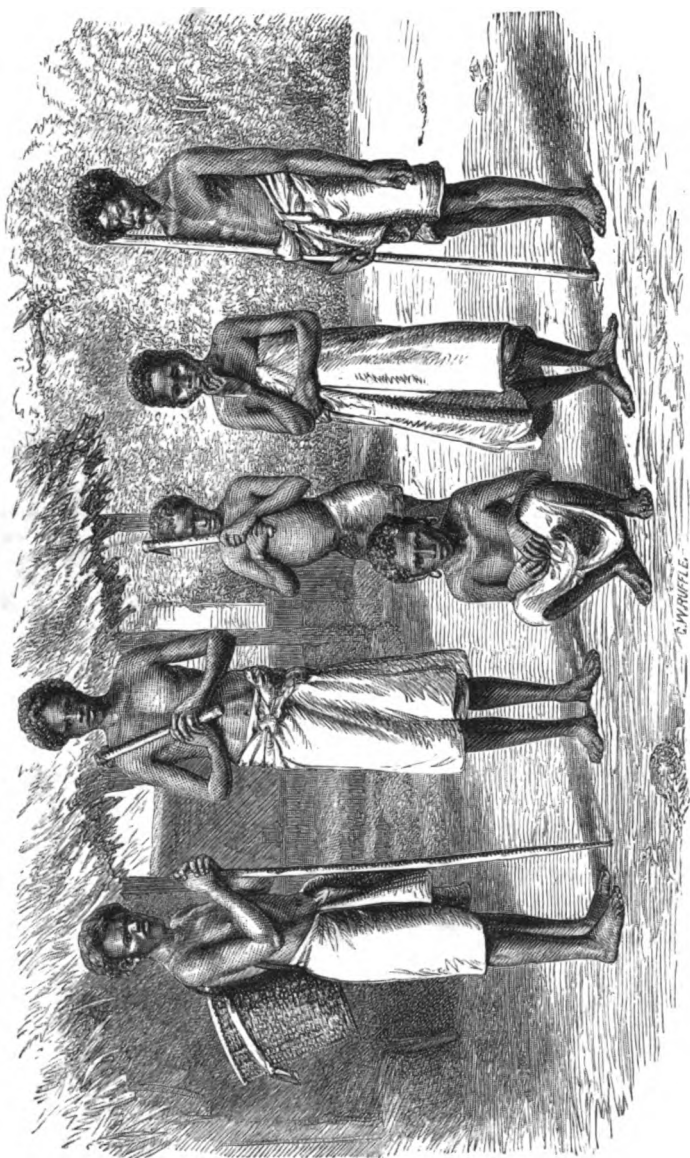
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* * Fellows of the Society are particularly requested to communicate
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HILL TRIBES.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

MARCH, 1869.

ORDINARY MEETING, Dec. 8th, 1868.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

New Members.—GEO. H. POPE, Esq. ; HENRY BROOKES, Esq.
The Honorary Secretary read the following paper :—

I.—On Some Flint Implements Found Associated with Roman Remains in
Oxfordshire and the Isle of Thanet. By COL. A. LANE FOX, Hon. Sec.

THE object of the present communication is to lay before the Society some evidence of the Romanised Britons that I happen to have stumbled upon during last summer, the tendency of which is to prove that there must have existed, during the Roman period in this country, a class of people who employed flint tools such as we are in the habit of associating with a very early condition of human culture.

It is true that this is not a new discovery, for the presence of flint implements in connection with Roman remains has been noticed on former occasions, to which I shall refer subsequently; but our knowledge of prehistoric times is so scanty, and our deductions often rest upon so slender a basis in comparison with the magnitude of the considerations involved, that almost any evidence calculated to add to our information upon these subjects seems to be worthy of record.

We have, indeed, sufficient evidence to shew that the use of metals must have been introduced into this country before the Roman era. The discovery of numerous bronze implements in Ireland and in Denmark, countries beyond the area of Roman occupation; the gradual transition from stone to bronze observable in the Swiss Lakes, and from bronze to iron at Hallstadt; the mention of the use of iron in Britain by Julius Cæsar; the elaborately worked patterns in bronze which are attributed to the late Celtic period, and which are certainly not Roman; the very probable discovery in the Weald valley of iron smelt-

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ing scoriæ in connection with British remains, by Mr. Boyd Dawkins; and, above all, the continuity of form which may be traced in the development of tools and weapons throughout the stone, bronze, and iron ages;—all bear evidence that in this country, as in other parts of Europe, the use of both bronze and iron was known to a considerable portion of the inhabitants in prehistoric times, and the almost exhaustive paper on this subject which has appeared in the Proceedings of this Society by Sir John Lubbock, leaves little to be added in confirmation of these views. But we might naturally suppose that the use of metal implements would at first be rare, and confined to the more wealthy. The researches in the tumuli abundantly prove that flint implements were used during the bronze age, and were buried with bronze weapons in the graves, and there is now good reason for supposing that they continued in use by the Britons during the Roman, and, perhaps, even during the earlier part of the Saxon era.

In April, 1868, I examined a great part of the surface of the ground which lies between Kiddington, Charlbury, and Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, the position of which may be seen on reference to Sheet No. XLV of the Ordnance Survey, scale of one inch to the mile.

The most noticeable feature of antiquity belonging to this country is the great Dyke, called the Devil's or Grimes Dyke, which forms the north-western, northern, and eastern boundary of the tract of country above-mentioned, respecting which Dyke it is necessary by way of preface to say a few words. It consists of a bank or rampart of varying size, with a ditch on the outside, and it runs somewhat in the form of a semicircle, bulging northwards, from the neighbourhood of Woodstock and Blenheim on the south-east, round to that of Charlbury on the west. Much of it has been destroyed by cultivation, but its former trace has been described by the Rev. Mr. Jordan in his *History of Enstone*, and by Dr. Warton in his *History of Kiddington*, and sufficient still remains to shew clearly the original intention of the work.

Without entering into the details of its construction further than is necessary to explain its bearing on my present subject, it may be briefly said, that throughout the whole extent of the Dyke from the strong ground in Blenheim Park, where its south-eastern, or right flank, appears to have rested, round to Dytechley Park on the north, which place derives its name from the Dyke, and on to Charlbury on the west, it everywhere follows, or originally followed, the brow of the hills on the right bank of the valley of the Glyme or its tributaries. It appears to have had in some places a double line, one of which was

to command the valley to the front, on which it is placed. Plot, in his *History of Oxfordshire*, has supposed it to have been a Roman road, but Dr. Warton very properly remarks that its curved and irregular course is sufficient to destroy that supposition; Stukely believed it to be British; but he gives reasons for supposing it to be a Roman work. We have only to add, from personal inspection of it, that it is merely a boundary, but without doubt a fortification of commanding position, its adaptation to the features of the country, and the situation of its ditch, are points which, taken together, are sufficient to determine it to be a work

of its whole line, it so much resembles other dykes examined in Yorkshire and elsewhere (and the

I may here remark by way of parenthesis is that it has afforded a great deal of important information to our history of the invasion and immigration of races on the east coast. We were to be guided by its trace alone I should have classed it with those dykes, and to attribute it to the Romans, but other considerations are favourable to the supposition of a Roman earthwork.

Considerations are: firstly, that it covers a portion of Akeman Street, which runs across the country in a north and south-westerly direction, passing along the line of the work in such a manner as to be defended by it against any attack; and secondly, that between Akeman

Dyke, and within the area defended by the traces of several Roman villas or other Roman works, one on Callow Hill, about a mile to the north of Akeman; another near Devil's Pool, a mile to the north-west of Akeman Hill; and two more close together, further to the south, within the area of Dytechley Park; to which (as probably belonging to the same settlement, on the other side of Akeman Street to the south), the Stonesfield, or more properly at North Leigh, commonly known, one of the best examples of a Roman villa that has been discovered in this country.*

Instances favour the supposition that the Dyke was thrown up by the Romans to defend a Roman station established in this place in connection with the

By the above, I have examined the course of another dyke, which runs from the neighbourhood of Callow Hill, one of the sites above mentioned, in Dytechley Park, which was a Roman pottery, and from thence westward into Cornbury, one of the pottery-strewn sites, with reference to the dyke, no reasonable doubt of their having been connected.

great road, and to secure the communication of the inhabitants with the road.

It is in connection with the sites of these Roman remains, within the area of the intrenchment, that I discovered the flint arrow-heads and other vestiges of the fabrication of flint implements that are represented in the annexed plate.*

On Callow Hill there are the remains of a rectangular enclosure thickly strewed with Roman tiles and pottery, amongst which I picked up a piece of Samian pottery representing in relief a satyr and two women dancing, a stone spindle whorl, several fragments of scored tile, and with them five flints, consisting of two flakes shewing the bulb of percussion on the flat side, one ball about an inch in diameter chipped all round, fig. 1, and two well-formed scrapers represented in figs. 2 and 3.

Now, in order to appreciate the value of the evidence afforded by these flints, it must be understood that the district in question, forming part of the great oolite formation, contains no flints. The nearest point from which flints could be obtained is from the chalk country, nineteen miles to the south. There are, indeed, flints in the alluvium in the bottoms of some of the valleys nearer than that, but they are so different in appearance from those exhibited to the meeting and represented in the figures, that there can be no difficulty in distinguishing them. Apart, therefore, from the evidence afforded by the bulb of percussion, the peculiar decomposition of the surface, the careful chipping of the scrapers, and other indications of design, we may be sure that wherever flints of any kind are found in this district in places that are not covered with the alluvium, they must have been imported from a distance, and may, therefore, be regarded as the work of hands.

I examined carefully every yard of the surface of several fields adjoining the Roman structure upon Callow Hill, and I also examined the neighbourhood of the Dyke which here runs within half-a-mile to the east, but I nowhere discovered the smallest fragment of flint, with the exception of the implements above-mentioned, mixed with innumerable fragments of Roman pottery in this place. We have, therefore, I think, very strong presumptive evidence for associating the flints and the pottery together in point of time.

I next examined one of the Roman sites on Lord Dillon's property, in the neighbourhood of Devil's Pool. Having removed the soil and the fragments of pottery which strewed the surface, I came upon part of a Roman floor composed of concrete mixed with small fragments of broken tile, twenty feet in length by

* All the figures represented in the plate are half-size linear.

Immediately to the north, adjoining this structure, of ground was covered with the *débris* of flint samples of which were exhibited to the Society. Of numerous small flakes (figs. 5 and 6); several similar to that found upon Callow Hill, the object subtle, but which appear to be something more clei from which the flakes have been struck off; cores; one worked flint (fig. 4), two inches in about half-an-inch thick, rounded, and shewing sion at the ends, similar in form to flints which the Yorkshire Wolds and elsewhere, and which are have been used as tools in the process of flaking of the flints; two fragments of scrapers, one of presented in fig. 7, and several irregularly formed to a bevel on one side; one leaf-shaped arrow-head and one well-formed barbed arrow-head (fig. 9), which was an inch, and the latter about half-an-inch, both carefully chipped and worked on all sides. Several types of implements are of the kind usually the surface, especially in flint districts, both in this Ireland, and are often associated with implements that they have not, I believe, been previously described in this part of Oxfordshire. The arrow-heads, more generally taken to represent an advanced period in and the transition from stone to bronze. Four distinct arrow-heads are usually found in all countries,—the lozenge-shaped, the barbed, and the triangular both-shaped. These four types, with the intermediate connecting one type with another, are found in the world in which flint or chert arrow-heads, either still continue to be used at the present time, in all parts of Europe, North and South America,

considerations which led me to associate the flints of Callow Hill with the Roman pottery there, also connect the flints found near the Devil's Pool with the pavement; for here, as at Callow Hill, I examined the tract of country to the north, west, and south which is contiguous to the pavement, without discovering a single flint. I think, therefore, that we may either hold the whole to have belonged to the Romanised Britons; or, if the pavement is to be regarded as part of a Roman villa, we may, perhaps, be allowed to conjecture that the flints, occurring in a compact area in close contiguity to it, are the residences of British slaves, who dwelt in huts, or some other perishable material, in the immediate

vicinity of their master's house. At the same time, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that as all these remains were found on the surface, there is always a possibility of their having belonged to different periods, notwithstanding the circumstances which in this case appear to warrant us in associating them together.

Some further confirmation of the existence of Roman remains contemporaneously with structures of an earlier character in this neighbourhood, may perhaps be derived from the consideration of circumstances connected with the cromlech or hoar stone at Enstone. This cromlech consists of five large stones, three of which are upright, forming three sides of a cist, and two lay flat on the ground adjoining. Mr. Jordan, the historian of Enstone, informs us, on the authority of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., who dug beneath this monument some years ago, that all the fragments of pottery discovered there were of Roman, or Romano-British manufacture. Although it is of course possible that such pottery may have been deposited by the despoilers of this sepulchre during the Roman period, yet the position of the pottery, which is stated to have been in the ground beneath the stones, is favourable to its having belonged to the time when it was used as a place of interment, assembly, or public worship.

I found no flints in the neighbourhood of this cromlech, which now stands in a fir plantation adjoining the road; but in the vicinity of a similar one at Rollerich, near Chipping Norton, called the Five Knights, I found several flakes upon the surface. From information I obtained from a shepherd close by, I have reason to believe the flints are confined to the field in which the cromlech stands.

It now remains for me to describe some relics of a similar nature, which I obtained from the Isle of Thanet. The tract of country which I examined in September, 1868, extends from about a mile north of Margate to Broadstairs and Ramsgate, and to a distance of a mile or two inland from those places; the tract of country in question may be seen on reference to sheet No. 3 of the Ordnance Survey. The formation is chalk, and the soil is therefore covered with flint stones. *Flinting*, consequently, has to be carried on under conditions entirely the opposite of those met with in Oxfordshire. From the time of the Romans up to the present, flints have been used here in the construction of walls, and sharp flakes set into the tops of them here answer the purpose which in other parts of the country is served by fragments of glass. Nevertheless, there is no real difficulty in detecting the ancient from the modern flakes; dark flakes with a dull surface must be rejected as modern, those of

ancient date are of a light blue colour on their fractured surfaces. I found three plots of ground within the area above mentioned, upon which the fabrication of flints had been carried on. One near the edge of the cliff between Broadstairs and the North Foreland lighthouse, another about two hundred yards to the west of the lighthouse inland, and a third in a field to the west of the church-yard at St. Peter's. Similar plots of flint *débris* are found upon the Yorkshire wolds. Between Margate and Kingsgate, although I walked over the ground very carefully, I did not find more than a couple of flakes, nor could I find any trace of the fabrication of flint implements beyond St. Peter's to the south and west. All the flints exhibited to the Society are from the three spots above named.

The flints found upon the surface in these places may be classified as follows: 1. Flakes: although a good many flakes were found, few of them were long or well formed; this is to be wondered at, considering that good large flints for the purpose are obtainable in the chalk. 2. Cores from which the flakes had been struck off: these were in great abundance, of the usual kind, but of small size generally. 3. Flint balls: similar balls are found in the Yorkshire wolds and elsewhere; their object appears doubtful, it is often difficult to distinguish a flint ball from a mere core that has been thrown away after several flakes had been taken off from it; some of these, however, appear evidently to have been designed. 4. Three or four flints from two to three inches long, and from one and a-half to two inches thick, rounded at the ends: these might perhaps have been intended as hammers (one of these is represented in fig. 10). 5. Flint discs (fig. 11), flat on one side and bevelled all round on the other: I picked up two of these. 6. Scrapers: two good specimens and several imperfectly formed (figs. 12 and 13). 7. Flint knives: one good specimen of this class is represented in fig. 14; it is an outside flake, two inches long, carefully chipped all round on the convex side, several others are more or less chipped on one or both edges. 8. Spear head: of this class I obtained one very good specimen (fig. 15) in the field near St. Peter's; it is two inches long and one and a-half broad, leaf shaped, well chipped on both faces. I found several flints which appeared to have been rudely worked to a point; these possibly may have been unfinished spear heads, they however are extremely rough. 9. Drills: I found two flints which appeared to have served the purpose of drills, but they are not good specimens. 10. Some of these flints were chipped to an edge, apparently to be used as chisels or axes (fig. 16). Besides the above, there were a great many flints of a nondescript character, showing marks of secondary chipping, but which do not

admit of being definitively classed. I have little doubt that the majority of the tools used for different purposes were of this sort. When it is considered that the flint breaks off at every stroke when employed in scraping wood or bone, it is very unlikely that the fabricators should have expended much labour on dressing their ordinary tools into symmetrical forms, which must inevitably have been destroyed before the implement had been in use many minutes. No doubt each rough flake was used for the purpose for which it was best adapted, and was employed either in the hand without any handle, or set into sticks, in the manner that is common in savage countries to this day. Amongst these flints of a nondescript character were several that appeared to have had a notch chipped out of them of a semicircular concave form; these may perhaps have been used to trim the rounded shafts of arrows or other implements of wood that required to have a convex form given to them, but these are liable to be mistaken for the strike-lights of modern times. It is remarkable that I found no arrow head amongst the flint *débris* in this country, and all the flints found here on the surface were of a very rough description.

During the time that I was staying in this neighbourhood some labourers, digging for brick earth between St. Peter's and Reading Street, came upon the top of a large pit cut in the chalk. As several fragments of ancient pottery had been turned up above this pit, I determined to have it dug out. It appears to have been of oval form, the diameters being thirty and forty feet respectively at the top, the sides sloping at an angle of 40°, and converging towards the bottom, the greatest depth of which beneath the surface was eleven feet. An opening, and a kind of path down into it, was traced in the north side. There was a small bank of chalk round the margin of the pit. To the west, a mound of chalk appeared to have been formed by the material excavated from the pit during its first formation. The pit had since been filled up with brick earth, without any mixture of other earth or mould, and brick earth covered the mound and top of the pit to a thickness of from one to three feet over the highest part of the chalk mound, above which, on the surface, there was six inches of vegetable mould. There was no indication of the pit upon the surface, except that the grass always grew thicker over it; and, but for the circumstance of the place having been used for obtaining brick earth, the existence of the pit would never have been noticed. It would appear from this, that, at some former period, the top of the mound and pit must have been levelled down and covered over, in order to make the field available for agricultural purposes; but, before this, circumstances hereafter mentioned,

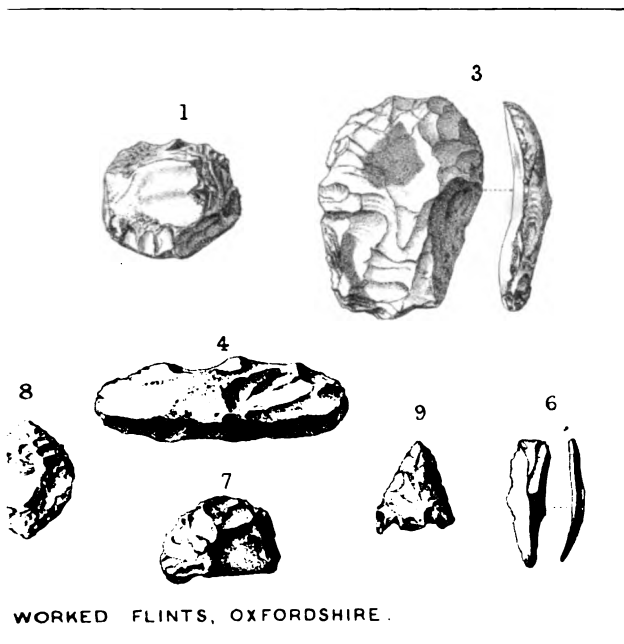
pit must have been filled up with brick earth. This is the only way that I can account for the pit having been covered in a manner as to obliterate all trace of it upon the surface, there is no fall in the ground adjoining sufficient to enable it to become silted up, the surrounding country is to be on a dead level or nearly so, and the part of the mound and pit was on the same level as the rest.

It was necessary to excavate more than the northern half of the mound in order to obtain the timber required for the erection of a shed. The pit, as I have said, was filled with brick earth; but it was not the mixture of a number of small lumps of chalk, but a disturbed earth, differing in this respect from the deposit of brick earth which lay around it on the surface, to a thickness averaging from three to four feet. The contents of the pit were as follows:—Two lumps of brick earth from two to three inches thick at six feet from the surface. The balls appeared to have been formed by squeezing the earth with the hand, and shewed marks of the impress of the thumb. The material and use of which I have not been able to ascertain—they were at a depth of six feet nine inches from the surface, exactly over what appeared to be the centre of an iron nail at seven feet and a half; a very well-shaped spear-head (fig. 17) at the same depth, of nearly two inches and a half long, and one and a half inches in diameter at the base, about half an inch thick at the base, and pointed at the point.

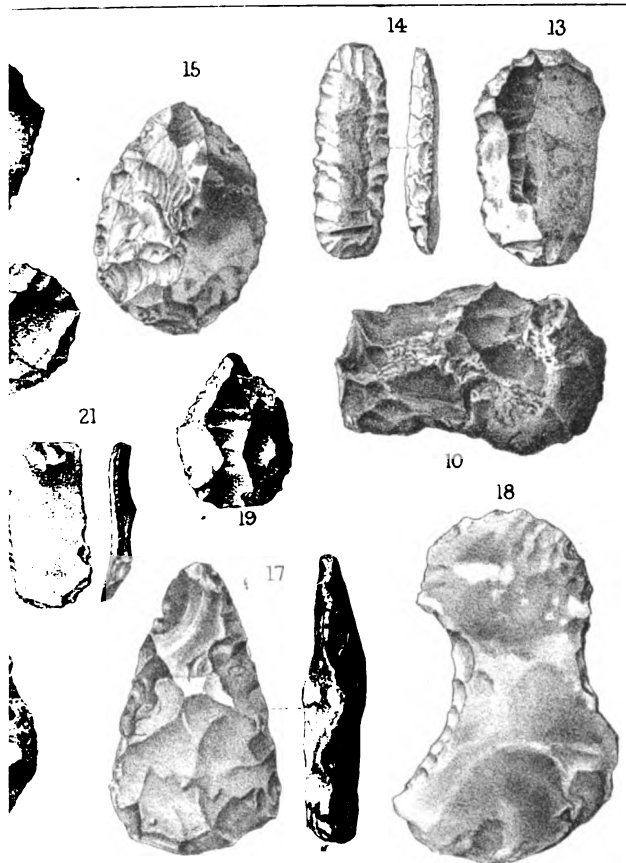
One of the flints obtained from the pit (fig. 18) was chipped in concave form on both sides, and shewed some marks of secondary chipping near the bulb. Fig. 19 might possibly represent the first rough stage of an arrow-head, if so, it is the only specimen of the kind found in the Isle of Thanet. Fig. 20 appears to have been used for a scraper, but it is not a good specimen. No remains of charcoal were found at seven feet. Flint (fig. 21) is a good specimen, and cores, were mixed with the brick earth all through the pit, near the bottom; all the flints shewed the bulb of percussion, or some other indication of artificial fracture at the bottom, where there were several large un-worked stones. The flint was of a very fine transparent kind, of the kind best adapted for flint implements. All the flints were sharp at the edge, cutting the skin like broken glass in this respect from those found on the surface, and they must have been covered with earth soon after they were flaked off, and the edges by that means preserved. There were several flints shewing marks of secondary

chipping at the edges; but, with the exception of the spear-head (fig. 17), no symmetrically-formed tools. A few of the flints shewed signs of fire. Animal remains were found at various depths, but chiefly near the bottom. All the bones were split and fractured. Mr. William Davies, of the British Museum, has been kind enough to identify them for me. They belong to the following domesticated animals:—Bones and teeth of the goat, *Capra hircus*; the humerus, tibia, metacarpus, lower jaw, portion of pelvis, and eleven teeth of the *Bos longifrons*, all fractured; a fractured right humerus, and part of the shed antler of the red deer, *Cervus elaphus*; portions of the humerus, radius, pelvis, metatarsus, astragalus, tibia, hind foot, and several teeth of the horse, *Equus caballus*; the symphysis, lower jaw, femur and teeth of the pig, *Sus scrofa*; and the skull and lower jaw of a dog, *Canis familiaris*. It is worthy of notice, and we learn from it, how much information may be derived, in these investigations, from a careful examination of the animal remains by a competent anatomist, that Mr. Davies, in his examination of these bones, observed that they all belonged to one animal of each kind, viz.—one *bos longifrons*, one horse, and one goat, and further, that the bones both of the horse and goat, belonged to the right side of the animal, with the exception of only two small bones of the horse belonging to the left side. Now, as these bones were not deposited in the pit in their natural sequence, but were, without exception, fractured and split along as if for marrow, it follows almost as a matter of certainty, that they must be the remains of a feast, in which a considerable number of persons must have taken part, and that the animals were not buried entire, nor were the bones chucked into the pit at different times, which latter is proved by the fact of the bones belonging to one animal of each kind. The shells found in the pit were the following—limpet, *Patella vulgaris*, in considerable numbers; periwinkle, *Littorina littorea*, a few; mussel, a few; snail, *Helix nemorales*, and *Helix aspersa*, in great abundance, evidently used as an article of food; whelks, *Buccinum undatum*, two or three. Lastly, the whole of the pottery found in the pit was of Roman manufacture: it consisted of small fragments from an inch to two inches in length and breadth, interspersed throughout the pit from top to bottom with the bones and flints in such a manner as to leave no doubt that both the flints and the animal remains must have been deposited at the same time as the pottery.

The pottery was all of the kind that was manufactured by the Romans in this country, and chiefly in the Upchurch Marshes, on the banks of the Medway; no fragments of Samian ware were found in the pit.



WORKED FLINTS, OXFORDSHIRE.



WORKED FLINTS, ISLE OF THANET

$\frac{1}{2}$ size linear

With respect to the purpose for which the pit was constructed, it is to be regretted that I was unable, for the reason above mentioned, to dig out the whole of it. The evidence derived from the animal remains is favourable to the supposition of its having been a place of burial associated with the usual burial feast; but, although the centre was dug out, there was not the slightest trace of a human interment, or of any urn, or burnt bones. The character of the flint *débris* leads me to think that the pit must have been sunk in the chalk for the purpose of obtaining flint for the construction of weapons, and that the implements must have been made on the spot and then carried off, to be used elsewhere, which would account for so few worked flints having been found in the pit; had it not been for the single spear-head and one or two worked flints that were found, no evidence would exist to show that the flints were not chipped for wall-building, or for some other purpose for which this material may have been commonly used by the Romans; but the character of the implements is quite conclusive, and leaves little doubt that it was for that purpose the flints were worked.

At what time, and for what object, the pit was filled up again with brick earth, and not with the material excavated from it, appears to be less clearly determinable. Somewhat similar pits to this have been noticed in other parts of Kent, at Faversham, Aylesford, Crayford, Dartford, and Tilbury. Those at Aylesford are described as being filled up to the top with flints; and, from information I obtained from the workmen that I employed, I have reason to believe they are also to be found in other parts of the Isle of Thanet.

Murray's *Handbook* informs us that, "until the beginning of last century, owing partly to its being difficult of access, and to its laying off the main roads, Thanet was in nearly as wild a waste as the remotest parts of Cornwall." We know that in Roman times it was entirely isolated, and that the Roman galleys sailed between it and the main land. Perhaps, therefore, it may have been owing to this circumstance that the inhabitants of the island, although situated so near to the great thoroughfare of nations as to be within sight of the Roman stations at Rutupiaë and Regulbium, may, nevertheless, have been in so barbarous a condition, as to have retained the use of their primitive flint weapons during the Roman times.

Another well authenticated instance of the occurrence of chipped flints in connection with Roman remains, occurs at the camp at Hardham in Sussex. Mr. Boyd Dawkins there discovered several Romano-British graves, in which chipped flints were intimately associated with pottery of the Roman age, and

he mentions two other similar cases that had come under his notice, one at the camp at Worle Hill, near Weston-super-Mare, and another at Gergovia in Auvergne.

In conclusion, it may be well that I should state briefly the degree of weight which I attach to the several facts mentioned in this paper, as evidence of the use of flint implements during the Roman era. In the case of the flints found on the surface in Oxfordshire, I consider the connection highly probable, if not actually proved. The connection, in point of time, of the flint implements and flakes with the Roman pottery found in the pit near St. Peter's appears to me to be sufficiently proved. The flint implements found on the surface in the Isle of Thanet may be of an earlier date, but their resemblance in character to those found in the pit renders it highly probable that they also may have been used in the time of the Romans. I can hardly hope that the details which I have recorded will be considered of very great interest in themselves; they must, however, be regarded as a contribution towards a general survey of the prehistoric archæology of the country, and, as such, I trust they may not be considered unworthy of the notice of the Society.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Evans, Mr. Black, and Col. Lane Fox took part.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following paper;—

II.—The Westerly Drifting of the Nomads from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century. By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq.

PART I. A.D. 1218-1868.

It may be perversity or it may be presumption in one so unimportant as myself taking heterodox views of the foundations upon which others have built; whatever it be, I confess that I am not contented with the method of inquiry becoming popular among ethnologists. I hold it to be a vicious method in any science which is not purely empirical, to attempt to approach the known from the unknown. To start an inquiry at the zero of perfect ignorance, and to weave fantastic fables out of a mass of disjointed and confused facts; and then to dogmatise with more than philosophic unction, as if the erections were riveted together with sober truth instead of being a mere toy; a house of cards. In charging much of modern ethnological research with such grave trifling, I do not hide from myself either the fascination of the amusement or the ease with which it may be followed. I deny its scientific worth. But, to leave generalities, I consider that prehistoric times and their doings can only be safely approached from historic times. That if we ignore the solid ground which has been well mapped out by former in-

quirers we shall be lost in the quagmire beyond. To-day is the best threshold to yesterday, yesterday to the day before, and so on.

The present position of anthropology is eloquent on my text. Not only do we find great authorities quarrelling over the most elementary facts in that science; but even quarrelling over its methods of inquiry. The skull and the skeleton are held to be the most invariable evidence of race, even to the separating of man into several species by some inquirers. By others, and notably by our president, they are held to be as subject to varying effects of climate and conditions as the wider world of life, whose laws of variation have been examined by Mr. Darwin. Again, anatomists ignore entirely the method and the results of philology, and hold language to be the most treacherous of guides; and thus I might continue. The main cause of these results I hold to be the forsaking of the strictly inductive method; or, as I choose to call it in such inquiries as ours, the historic method for one more allied to empiricism. Intuition may be the loadstone of poetry; it is as the mirage in historical inquiries. I preface my paper with these remarks in order that I may claim some patience from you for its hard dry story. In examining the ancient ethnography of Europe I have in common, may I say, with all other inquirers been baffled repeatedly by the miserable confusion in which it appears, when viewed through orthodox text books. I have tried to traverse the ground repeatedly with their aid in despair, and am convinced that the only approach, with any promise of success in it, is by gradually unravelling later changes and thus approaching earlier ones. I therefore begin with the latest.

My purpose is to trace the immigration and spread of the various nomade races which have overspread the great plains and steppes of southern Russia and Poland, the plains of Hungary, of Persia, and Asia Minor, since the fifth century. An inquiry, whose difficulty and importance may be tested by the fact that the French Academy has twice, without response, offered a prize for an essay on the subject. The number of inquirers in this field is legion, and there are very few facts for any new one to glean. There is still room, however, for a continuous survey of the whole, which I have attempted after a careful perusal of every authority within my reach. If there be nothing very new in my story it will, at least, be a good preface, a good clearing away of tangle, which will enable me to offer to your notice some fresh theories when in other papers I examine the changes of race in central and northern Europe at an earlier date.

The Hungarian plain and the steppes of the Ukraine are only a westerly continuation of the huge plains of central Asia. From

the mountains of the Tyrol to the Altai chain we have one continuous, monotonous level, here covered with a scanty and short grass, there a sandy waste bestrewn with salt and brackish marshes and pools, with long strings of reeds and sedges to mark the almost stagnant rivers. In some places, as on the banks of the Siberian rivers, capable of great cultivation; in others, as sterile as the Sahara. No mountain barrier, and in winter, when every river is frozen, no river barrier either, to prevent an army of horsemen marching from the Wall of China to the roots of the Alps, if persevering and strong enough. Except in Hungary and, as I have said, on the banks of some rivers incapable of cultivation and therefore of settlement, necessarily the home of herdsmen and wanderers, and by whomsoever occupied, all answering to the description of nomades. This long stretch of pasturage and desert is bounded roughly on the south by the Danube, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and a line drawn from the southern shores of the Caspian to the mountains of Thibet. On the north by Great Russia. The country of the Bashkirs to the Ural chain, and then the Siberian plains to the Altai chain; within these limits changes of population and revolutions have been frequent, many of which, as the tyro in history knows, have affected the course of the world's progress in no mean degree. Such of these as affected Europe it will now be my province to describe. We will begin with the last.

I have elsewhere treated of the spread of the Slavic races in recent times. The last great extension southwards was, as I have shown, at the expense of Turkey; in the conquest of Bessarabia the territory of Crim, or Little Tartary, and the steppes of the Kuban, and most of the *colonies* now found in these regions, consisting of Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Germans, and Russians date from no earlier time than the days of Catherine II. As I have already described them at length I will leave them. If we examine the ethnographic map of southern Russia, and eliminate these colonies, we shall find it occupied by three patches of colour, representing respectively the area occupied by the Cossacks, by the Kalmucks, and by Tartars of different kinds. The Cossacks will be found in my paper on the Slaves, and we begin with the Kalmucks; their history has been examined by Dr. Clarke, Pallas, and De Hell, and, at an earlier date, by that marvel of research, De Guignes. I do but epitomise their accounts.

The Kalmucks are distinguishable from the tribes that surround them by very marked features of language, customs, dress, and religion. In all these respects, they carry us far away to the east to the borders of the Chinese empire. In Europe they form an isolated island of population, separated by

pe of the Kirghiz (a fearful desert both in extent from their kinsmen in the east. Their religion Tibetan Buddhists, their features and language the present limits of European Kalmuckia, accordingly, are to the north and east of the Volga as far as drawn from that point to the mouth of the Volga the course of the river, and at a distance of about m it ; and, lastly, the Caspian as far as the Kuma, of the Kouma, and a line drawn from that river virofka to the upper part of the course of the the Egoslisk and a line passing through the different rivers that fall into the Don, form the he west. The whole portion of the steppes in- en the Volga, the frontiers of the government of country of the Don Cossacks, and the 46° N. lat. mping ground. Thus they occupy the greater e government of Astrakhan, a part of that of the l, according to Bronewsky in his *History of the* , a few are also found in their territory. They 00 or 16,000 families, and their number has been sixty years. Their history, so far as it affects is simple enough. The Kalmucks, otherwise nthes or Olöt, were anciently divided into three , the Tchougars, or Soougars, who are now broken scattered in the country west of the Altai moun- as Lake Balkash, bordered on the south by the urks, and on the north by the Russians ; 2, the ho occupied the kingdom of Tangout in the time s, and were then governed by two khans, one in ther in Tangout, both under the Dalai Lama ; and an Kalmucks, called Torgouts and Derbetes. The ited with the Derbetes, were, at the beginning of 11th century, the most formidable tribe in Central uignes gives a long account of them. How the eir empire about that day got the title of Kontaish 1) from the great Lama, and how the Khirgisises, its (or Tangouts), and the Khalka Mongols were subdued. How at length the Chinese interfered, a number of family dissensions among the descend- great khan Baschton, who had also subdued the the Turks of Yarkand, Turfan, Kaschgar, and limits were curtailed.

hen De Guignes wrote, they still dominated over the Mimgats (Numkats), the Koiots, the Kasch- Bukarian towns, and could bring 100,000 men "he foundation of this monarchy involved the

subjection of many petty chiefs, and it would seem that one of these preferred emigration (at least so I read the authorities), and in 1630 with 50,000 Soongar and Torgout families, crossed the Volga and threatened the town of Astrakhan. Cho Orloik, as he was called, was killed in an assault on that town. In 1665 his son, Daitching became a nominal vassal of Russia.

This was followed by a fresh emigration of 10,000 tents. In 1665 the Kalmucks were all united under their greatest khan Aionki. But this unity necessitating the suppression of many minor chiefs, is never effected among such races without some emigration, and we have in De Guignes a somewhat romantic account of an expedition made by the son of Aionki to the Eastern Olöts, on the borders of Mongolia, with a large number of tents, the khan of those Eastern Olöts, whose name was Tsahan Areptan, and had married a daughter of Aionki, sent him back to his father and distributed his followers among his own people.

Aionki Khan was the supreme ruler in the Kuban, and about the northern shores of the Caspian he greatly assisted Peter the Great in his war with Persia, and was treated by him with distinction; the Chinese emperor also sent ambassadors to him. On his death, in 1724, dissensions arose among the Kalmucks which are particularised by De Hell.

In Oubacha's reign, which commenced in 1761, the Kalmucks were reinforced by 10,000 tents, increasing their number to 80,000 families. They then occupied the country bounded by the Ural and the Don, by Taritzin and the northern slopes of the Caucasus. Oubacha was regarded rather as the ally than the vassal of Russia, and paid no tribute. He assisted the Russians in their campaign against the Turks and Urjays, and at the siege of Otchakof.

On the 5th of January, 1771, began the celebrated flight of the Kalmucks. Frightened by the growing power and ambition of Russia, and no doubt encouraged by the Chinese, Oubacha set out with 70,000 families, leaving only about 15,000 families in Russia. He crossed the Ural, and, after a fearful march of eight months across the steppes, assailed at every turn by the Cossacks, the Khirgises (their hereditary enemies), and the Buriats, he arrived on the borders of China with 50,000 families, consisting of 300,000 mouths. These were increased to 80,000 by fresh emigrations from Great Tartary, in 1772, of all the remains of the Olöt Torgouths and some hordes of Pourouths(?). The history of this celebrated flight has been told very graphically by the Jesuit Father Amyot, who was at Pekin when they arrived. He calls them the Tartars composing the nation of the Torgouths. Those who remained behind con-

and in a generation or two grows into a widely recognised power.

In the case of the Osmanli the history of this progress is handed down to us with all its details. In 1224 Soliman Shah, the leader of a small tribe of Turcomans, pressed by the Moguls, left Khorassan and advanced westwards. He was drowned in the Euphrates. His son, Ertoghrul, enlisted with four hundred tents in the service of Aladdin, the Seljuk sultan of Iconium, and having fought successfully against Greeks and Mongols was established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar in Phrygia, where he reigned fifty-two years. This area, corresponding to the ancient Phrygia Epictetos, is known to the Turks as Sultare. Ceni Osman, or Othman, was the son of Ertoghrul; having become independent of the effete sultans of Iconium, whose patrimony had been divided into a heptarchy of Seljuk principalities; he broke through the passes of Mount Olympus, previously the unshaken barrier of the Greek emperors, and ravaged Bythinia. In his latter days he took Prusa; this became the capital of his son. From Osman the Osmanli trace their name, and their first organisation as a nation, Orchan was the son and successor of Osman; in 1327 he took Nicomedia; in 1330 Nicæa, and six years later he took Pergamus with Mysia from a Seljuk prince. He took the title of Padishah, and his court was called the High Porte. In 1341 the Turks first crossed into Europe, but this was only a transitory visit. In 1357 Soliman, the son of Orchan, took possession of Gallipoli and Sestos, and first planted a permanent colony of Osmanli Turks on this side of the Bosphorus.

Orchan was succeeded by Amurath I; in 1362 he took Adrianople and made it his capital. By the battle of Maritza he gained Rumelia, *i. e.*, Macedonia. In these areas he planted colonies of Turks and Arabs. In 1376 he took Misa, a frontier town in Servia, and the prince of Servia paid tribute. In 1389 he reduced Bulgaria, and in the same year, by the battle of Kossova, in which he was killed, Servia was subdued. Amurath I, by these vast conquests, had reduced to his sceptre nearly all European Turkey; he was succeeded by his son Bajazet. In 1391 Wallachia became tributary to Bajazet. In 1392 Caramania, Sivas (Sebaste), Kastemouni, Samsoun, and Amassia, with their territories, were subdued. Bajazet now overran Styria and southern Hungary, and then, sweeping over Locris and Bœotia, he subdued the Pelopponese, taking Athens in 1397. He transplanted thirty thousand Greeks into Asia, and planted Turcoman and Tatar colonies in Laconia, Messenia, Achaia, Argolis, and Elis. The career of Bajazet was stopped by Timour, at the battle of Angora, the account of which forms such a brilliant episode in Gibbon.

The effect of Timour's conquests on the nations of Asia was very profound, although his immense power was inherited by no one. He broke to pieces all the great monarchies of the east, and after he had passed away we find everywhere weakness, discord, and civil strife. The empire of the Osmanli suffered no less than others, and from 1402 to 1413 there was practically an interregnum; the shattered fragments were reunited by Mahomet I, in the latter year.

In 1430 Thessalonica was conquered from the Greeks. In 1444 was fought the great battle of Varna, by which Servia and Bosnia were again subdued. In 1453 Constantinople fell; this was followed by the complete annexation of Trebizond and the Pelopponesus, and Servia and Bosnia were reduced to Turkish provinces; while the princes of Caramania were finally subdued. Herzegomia and Albania, with the islands of Eubœa, Lesbos, Lemnos, Cephalonia, &c., and the town of Otranto in Italy, complete the grand catalogue of the conquests of Mahomet II, but hardly complete his exploits for our purpose. It is well known that from the thirteenth century the Genoese had planted colonies on the whole northern sea-board of the Black Sea, and that these towns monopolised a vast trade across the Caspian with Persia, China, and India. These towns were encouraged by the generous and cultivated Khans of the Crimea, but they were not to be endured by the jealous conqueror of Constantinople; he sent his vizier, with three hundred ships, who took Kaffa and overran the Khanate; forty thousand of their inhabitants were carried off to Constantinople, while some fled to the Caucasus, and a colony among its motley peoples still claims descent from the merchants of Genoa. Mahomet contented himself with placing his nominee on the throne of the Khanate, which thenceforth became an appanage of Constantinople, and an ever ready thorn to push into the weak flanks of Russia.

Though this was the immediate consequence, it led to others which became of historical importance in later days. Dependent upon the Khan of the Crimea were all the hordes of Uogay Tartars, who wandered on the steppes from Bessarabia to Tanganrog, as well as those of the Kuban. The Circassians of the two Kabardas, then a numerous race, as well as the Circassians of the mountains, were in the same position, and all these became, by the conquest of the Crimea, subject, or rather dependent, upon Turkey, which, no doubt, acquired a protecting influence over all the Caucasian tribes in the north-west Caucasus who professed Mohammedanism. They built some towns on the coast, and Mingrelia, Imeritia, Gonriël, and other Caucasian districts thus became, at least nominally, subject to the supreme head of Islamism; and, no doubt, the same influence

extended into the northern khanates of Astrakhan and Casan, thus forming a perfect curtain round the most assailable parts of Russia. Mahomet II died in 1481. In 1514 Selim I, the greatest of the Osman sultans, fought the great battle of Calderan against the Persians, which led to the annexation of Kurdistan and Diar Bekan. In 1516-17, Syria and Egypt were conquered, and Selim succeeded to the titles as well as the heritage of the caliphs.

Solyman, the magnificent, was the successor of Selim. In 1521 Belgrade was taken by Solyman, and his successes in Germany were followed up until, in 1547, by a treaty with the empire, nearly all Hungary and Transylvania were made Turkish provinces, and the emperor Ferdinand paid tribute to the Turkey, one hundred thousand Christians being transplanted into Turkey. The Venetians had long been despoiled of the Greek islands of Eubœa, Lesbos, Lemnos, etc. ; they now lost their hold on the republic of Ragusa, while Moldavia and Wallachia became appanages of the Porte. At the other end of the empire, by a succession of wars with Persia, large parts of Armenia and Mesopotamia, including the great cities of Erivan, Van Mosul, and Baghdad were incorporated.

In 1576 these conquests were followed up by Amurath III, who took Georgia, the city of Tabriz, and the ports of Azerbaijan, Schirvar, Loristan, and Scherbezul, on the Caspian, from Persia. The connection with the northern dependencies of Turkey having been made by the bey of Azoph, who marched round the eastern Caucasus with a body of Tatars. Thus was completed that vast conquest which extended over all the seats of ancient grandeur and culture. Every city, except Rome, which was celebrated in ancient times, and all the cradles of the world's civilisation, were included within the vast dominion of the Osmanli. I have thus completed the narrative of the extension of the Osmanli Turks, a narrative which savours more of a skeleton of history than of ethnology, but it will be found that in following the intricate coils of tangle into which the continuously flowing streams of emigration have involved the eastern world, no way can be made unless we follow strictly the lines of march of the emigrants and invaders. In every such revolution there is some focus of energy, and, however distant this may be, we must keep our eyes upon it while we examine the outer waves of disturbance it has caused. The nucleus, in this case, was the small band of Turcomans on the borders of Bythinia, which emancipated itself from the dominion of the Seljuks.

If we examine the ethnological value of this vast extension, we may divide the subject into two sections. On the one hand, we have the migration of Turks into an area previously free from them ; on the other, their effects upon those countries

run, or partially subject to Turkish influence. The area includes all the country from the Danube southwards called European Turkey, and that small piece of the peninsula bound by the Olympian Mountains, which the Greeks had preserved in their contests with the Sultans of Turkey. Within this area there is a population of Turks of about 1,000,000. They are nearly all inhabitants of the towns, and the Turkish populace has been but slightly affected by Turkish influence, even of those we number as Turks must be many of Bosnians and other Mahomedans who are Turkish in name but blood. Many of these European Turks, settlements are dotted over the map, are Tatar and Turkish colonies settled here by different sultans after their wars, replaced often by Christian colonists in Asia. The descendants of military colonists of the type of the Greeks in Asia Minor, whose blood, as well as language, are traces of Persian and Arabic influence. If we erase the elements from the map we shall have remaining three elements of different races—Slaves, Greeks, and Albanians. At present we have nothing to do at present. North of the Black Sea and the east of the Euxine, and generally in Asia, the Turkish race had been previously known. Here the conquerors of the Osmanli had not such marked ethnological features. In the old towns were founded, tribes of Turcomans were settled, and a large Georgian and Caucasian element was introduced by Turk families by the importation of slaves. Other influences were chiefly political and interesting historical. The authorities for this section of my paper have been Herodotus, Creasy, whose history is an epitome of the great works of Hammer; Malcolm's *Persia*, a most careful work; and various works; Wilkinson's *Dalmatia and Montenegro*; and the names of De Guignes.

Now change our point of view again. The river Volga is one of the best boundary lines in Asia. It separates the Turanian in the traditional history of Persia. In later times it has been the Rubicon which Tatars and Turks have crossed when they have invaded the west. Running from the Caspian Sea to the sea of Aral, it forms the southern and eastern boundary of the Jaxartes forms the northern boundary of the Turanian of the ancients, the *Mavera-ul-Nehr* of the Arabs, the *Bokharia* of European geographers. This area is bounded by the three Uzbek Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand. In the centre and north are the wide deserts of the Gobi, and to the south of them from the Kirghises. Bokharah occupies the south of Khiva, called also from the sea of Ural, Charizine or Chirchik, immediately to the south of that sea, and surrounded

on all sides by desert and Khokand. The ancient Fergana, bounded on the east and south by Chinese Tatar, on the west by Bokhara, and on the north by the Khirgizes of the Great Horde. Besides these three Khanates in Transoxiana, the Uzbeks are also masters of Balkh and its dependencies, and of the hill states of Hissar, Kulah, Kunduz, etc., north of Badakshan.

Abul Ghazi Khan, a chieftain of the Uzbeks, is the chief authority for their history. When the power of Timour fell to pieces a dynasty descended from him, and, described by De Guignes as the Timurides, retained the dominion of Tagatai, which was gradually diminished to the provinces bounded by the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and certain dependencies in Balkh and the south-west ; this province had always been subject to incursions from the north, and at length in 1494 Scheibek Khan entered it with the Uzbeks, and drove thence the reigning monarch, who was no other than Baber, the celebrated invader of India. Scheibek was killed in 1510, but Great Bukharia continued subject to his family till 1539, since which it has been broken up into separate Khanates.

Thus we get the first date for the appearance of the Uzbeks on the frontiers of Persia, namely 1494. Whence they came, is not so easy to answer, and has been warmly contested. I prefer to follow Abul Ghazi and De Guignes supported by other evidence, to trusting Klaproth's unsupported theory. Abul Ghazi tells us the name was adopted by the tribes of Kaptchak in honour of one of their Khans, a descendant of Baton, who established Mahommedanism among his subjects. De Guignes gives us an account of their ancestors under the title of the Moguls of Turan. About 1370 Fulat Khan divided the patrimony of his family between his two sons. One of these took the town of Nishni Novgorod from the Russians in 1377. A descendant of the other son was killed by the Kalmucks, and, leaving no living heirs, his people became scattered, and most of them probably subject to the Kalmucks. The Igours and Naimans remained constant to a posthumous son of the last Khan, but his power was so weakened that it could not compete with the Khans of the other line, and a descendant of the Khan who took Nishni Novgorod, namely, the Scheibek whom we have named, succeeded to the united empire, soon after which, probably pressed by the same Kalmucks, he crossed the Jaxartes and, as we have said, drove Baber from Transoxiana. This narrative brings the Uzbeks from Kaptchak and the country about the Iaik and the Ural mountains in close contact with Astrakhan and Casan, typical Turk settlements in which the purest Turki is spoken, and the least mixture of Mongol

blood is found. Now Vambéry, in his *Travels in Central Asia*, mentions certain facts which confirm this view. He tells us the Osbegs chiefly live in settled abodes. They extend from the southern point of the sea of Ural as far as Komul (a forty days' journey from Kashgar); they are divided into thirty-two tribes, scattered indiscriminately over this vast area; and, though differing in language, customs, and physiognomy, they affiliate themselves invariably to one of these tribes. He tells us the Khivan prides himself on the purity of his Ozbeg descent as compared with his brothers in Bokhara and Kashgar. Thus we find the typical Ozbeg, both in language and other respects, at the point nearest to the Kaptchak. Among the thirty-two tribes is one called Kaptchak, as well as others renowned in Turkish annals, such as Nayman, Az Djagaty, Nigur, Nojai, etc., all of which connect them with the same area. Again the dominant race in Khokand are said by Vambéry to be the Kiptchak, and to claim descent from the inhabitants of Desht Kiptchak, the Kiptchak Desert so often referred to in the *Annals of Timour*. All these facts, coupled with this, that we know of no other invasions from Budakshan and the other spurs of the Hindoo Kush, whence Klapproth brings the Osbegs, make it almost conclusive that they came from Kaptchak. Their arrival drove many Turcomans into Persia, Asia Minor, and the deserts east of the Caspian.

Before the arrival of the Uzbegs the Turcomans, or, as they sometimes affected to call themselves, the Mongols, were the dominant race in Transoxiana. Mongols they were only in so far as the family of the Khan, and, perhaps, of some of the leading men in the country, were descended from the followers of Genghiz. They were Turcomans, that is, resembling Turks, having intermarried with the Tajck inhabitants of the town, and become from a Turk point of view demoralised. Many of them still remain in Transoxiana; others are scattered all along the northern frontiers of Persia; while others are settled in Persia and Roumelia. Vambéry has described them at length. Their greatest hero is Timour. He has himself left us the memoirs of his life, which have been translated by the Oriental Translation Fund. At his birth the Khanate of Tagatai had been much curtailed; Charismia, with the Turcoman hordes of the Caspian desert dependent on it, was independent. While the district he calls Turan, including Balkh, Khojend, Khutelan, Badukshan, Taschkend, etc., was divided among a number of petty chiefs. While to the north Desht Iitche, answering to the Steppe of the Great Horde of the Kirghises, was held by Tughlech Khan, a descendant of Genghiz, who committed periodic raids on the Bukharian towns.

Timour, at first but the chieftain of a little district called

Kesh, or Shebri Sebz, by his address was rapidly raised to the commandship of the Bokharian army. He never aspired to more than the title of Emir, and seems always to have kept a shadow of monarchy or *roi faineant*, as a conscientious tribute to the divine right of kings, who was known as the khan. Timour, having subdued Charism and the chieftains of the so-called Turan, and having defeated the Getes, was at length in 1371 with great solemnities installed at Balkh as chieftain of the various tribes of Tagatai.

In 1382 he conquered Khorassan, Candahar, and Caubul. In 1383 he invaded Persia and overthrew the descendants of Hulakoo, who reigned at Sultaneah. Seistan and Mazanderan having previously submitted to him.

In 1386 he entered Georgia and made its king, Bagrat the Fifth, prisoner. The savage Lesghians were then assailed, and their khan and the ruler of Shirvan both submitted. The Cyrus was passed, and the country on all sides pillaged. The fate of Christian unbelievers being always the hardest, many of them being forced to apostatise. The next year saw his armies overrunning Erzeroum, Van, and other Turcoman towns, while Isfahan, Shiraz, Faryezd, Kerman, and Laristan were trampled under. Even the proud robber chieftains of Kurdistan had to submit.

In 1389 he invaded Kaptchak on the one hand, and the country of the Getes in Little Bacharia on the other. He passed the desert and took the palace of the King of the Getes situated to the east of the river Ili, and west of Lake Saissan. He then advanced eastward, and by a series of magnificent marches detailed by De Guignes, overran Mongolistan as far as the borders of China.

In 1391 he subdued Kaptchak. In 1393 Baghdad submitted to him. In 1395 he again forced the passes of the Caucasus, destroyed Astrakhan and Serai, the capital of Kaptchak, took all the strongholds from the mountain tribes of Circassia and Abkhassia, entered Russia, and sacked Moscow.

In 1398-99 he subdued Northern India, and in 1402 completed the roll of his conquests at the battle of Angora, where he took the Osmanli Sultan, Bajazet, prisoner, as we have already related. He died in 1404.

At his death Timour ruled over the widest area that was ever controlled by one man. He shook to pieces the Mogul empires in Kaptchak and Persia, and that of the Osmauli and the Seljouks further west. His policy was to force submission from all the minor rulers; he was content to leave them to rule their countries conditionally on their obeying him. His ostensible object was the promotion of the faith. And since the days of the early Caliphs no Mussulman ever deserved so

ward of an unflinching propagator of his creed. To his biography beside the pictures of desolation drawn by him, one can hardly credit the reports of the latter. His conquests must have fearfully decimated the thrice pillaged Georgia; the hungry plains of the Volga and the wastes of Northern India. Unless the hyperbole of his conquests has been more than usually extravagant, Timour must be one of the greatest butchers of mankind, and Samarcand, as well as Bagdad, was the scene of unrivalled eastern luxury and refinement, and the journal of his life bears witness to the cynicism. His conquests must have disturbed the course and prosperity of the caravan trade with India, and, no doubt, accelerated the discovery of routes to the east. At the same time these conquests in China to Smyrna must have stirred much slumber and must have distributed the fruits of various sciences among the widely separated peoples of Asia to come: and these are results the ethnologist cannot ignore more than the historian, though they be not, perhaps, within his province as the mixture of blood, caused by the tramping to and fro of millions of the empires and deserts of a continent so vast and so peopled as Asia.

We again shift our point of view and take up another knotted subject. Few names occur more frequently in eastern travels than that of Tatar. Tatar is the name which most people fill up the vacuum associated in their minds with Central Asia. This is known to the older geographers as Great Tatary. Little Tatary is the European area of the Russian provinces of the Crimean Kherson and

we should turn our attention to the Tatars. Their customs, and history have caused some heartburnings, but all are now agreed on the main facts. The name occurs in western writers for the first time as the followers of Genghiz Khan and his sons. To the west is known as early as the eighth century. Jean d'un, the Pope's ambassador to the great khan of the east, tells us "the country of the Tatars is called Asia inhabited by four different peoples—the Jekes, the Great Mongals, the Sou Mongals, or the Tatars, who calls themselves Tatars from a certain star flowing through their territory, the Merkits, and the Tatars. These four peoples have one personal character in common. In another place he identifies the Sou as the Tatars. The derivation of the name Tatar,

given by Du Carpin, is reasonable, and confirmed by the fact that we find other eastern tribes, notably the Sougars, which have taken their names from the rivers along which they were settled. The Tatars were, therefore, one division of the race known as Mongal-Tatar, being specific Mongal generic. According to D'Ohson, the Chinese applied the term Tatar to all the nomades living north of the desert Sha Uo. Thus, as is very frequent in eastern history, the most conspicuous clan or tribe gave its name to the whole nation as known to its neighbours, and eventually became its recognised title even among the distant nations of the west. The Chinese speak of white and black Tatars, and a comparison of their accounts with that of Du Carpin has made D'Ohson and Abel Remusat identify the Jeka Mongals as the Black Tatars, and the Sou Mongals as the White Tatars. Rubruquis, the most interesting of all eastern travellers except Marco Polo, is another authority whose burden is the same, and he tells us the native traditions (like so many in the west) made the Moguls and Tatars descend from two eponymous heroes who were brothers. All this is proof, if proofs were now wanted, that the original Tatars were of the race we call Mongal; now the modern Tatars are not so, at least the Tatars of Little Tatar and of the west. They are, in fact, typical Turks, and repudiate the name Tatar as a term of opprobrium, and call themselves Turk. Their language is at the same time one of the purest idioms.

In order to explain this, we must now trace the history of another Asiatic conqueror, namely, Zenghiz Khan. Rubruquis tells us that before the time of Zenghiz the Moals or Mogals and the Tatars were both very insignificant tribes dependent on the Khan of the Naymans, who ruled in Carakathay or Kaschgar, who was also called Prester John by the same author. This insignificance is confirmed by the Chinese authorities of De Guignes. It was the fame won by Zenghiz that shed itself over the tribes whence he originated, and of whom he was so proud, until the name Mongolistan, was owned by the vast tracts also called in our map Chinese Tatar.

Zenghiz Khan, or Ternudjin, was the son of Yesouliou Baha-dour, khan of the Jeka Mogals, and was born in 1163.

His first exploit was to subdue certain tribes or clans who had revolted and chosen a separate khan on the death of his father; the river Onon being the chief scene of his early exploits. In 1203 he defeated the Keraites. In 1204 the Naymans, who lived west of the rivers Altai and Seba. In 1206 he subdued the Merkits, rulers of Tangout or Hia, and adopted the title of Djenghiz (very great) khan. In 1208 the chief of the Kergis acknowledged him as great khan, and was followed

by the Dsoigerats. In 1209 the Onigours changed their allegiance to him from the chief of Karakhitay. The Mia Tche, then masters of Northern China had long exacted tribute from the Mongals and other frontier tribes. Zenghiz in 1210 refused to pay, and having crossed the great wall ravaged Chansi and Pecheli, the frontier provinces of China. Zenghiz now called together a great council of generals and apportioned to each the subjugation of some empire. The Merkits, Naymans, and Tumats, were first chastised for their rebellion. Zenghiz then turned his arms to the west. Mohammed, sultan of Charizu, was then at the height of his power. Transoxiana was all his, and the Kapchaks and Turcomans were dependent on him; he had lately deposed Gourkhan, emperor of Caraklulay, and had placed Keshlounk, khan of the Naymans, on the throne; Zenghiz defeated and killed Keshlounk and was acknowledged as emperor by the Caraklutans, Naymans, Kangli, and by the dependent districts to the south, including Badakhshan attended by his dependents the khans of the Ijours, the Karlicks, and of Alma-ligh, and in concert with the khalif of Baghdad, with whom Mohammed, the great ruler of Charizme, had a quarrel; Zenghiz, in 1219, attacked and took Bokhara and Otzar, and reduced Fergana (Khokand) and Khojand. He next took Samarcand, and Mohammed was chased through Persia and died a miserable fugitive on an island in the Caspian. The next conquest was an arduous one, namely, that of the great city of Charizme (the modern Khiva), the great mart of Asiatic trade and the *entrepôt* between Asia and Europe. Its extent may be guessed from the fact that on its assault one hundred thousand men were put to the sword. Another great city, namely Balkh, reputed to have contained twelve hundred mosques, fell in 1221; the same year Khorassan was overrun. In 1223 the Moguls forced the passage of Derbend, and by a stratagem defeated the armies of the Alans and Kaptchatk. The Kaptchatk sought the aid of the Russians; their united army met the Moguls on the Borysthenes and was defeated; the latter having ravaged Kaptchak and made the circuit of the Caspian re-entered Great Bokharia. In 1224 Caracorum was made the capital of the Mogul empire. In 1225 Southern China and the Corea were made tributary. In 1227 the princes of Tangout were destroyed. In the same year Genghiz died. The eldest surviving son of Zenghiz succeeded to the dignity of great khan at Caracorum, his brothers received hereditary appanages, with commissions to widen their bounds by conquest; thus Zajatai, a name well known to eastern scholars, received that territory now ruled over by the Uzbegs. Baton, son of Touschi and grandson of Genghiz Kaptchac and the country to the west; Schuban, brother of

Baton, received an uncomfortable heritage to the east of Kaptchac, among the mountains of the Ural, with the steppes of the Khirgises, and the sandy wastes of Ara Koum and Kara Koum; with these he received a great army of Moguls, Naymans, Carliks, and Ijourns, with whom his descendants fought on the one hand against the Russians, burning Nishni Novgorod in 1377; and, on the other, against the Kalmucks. From this Sceiban, according to De Guignes, was descended Scheibek, who led the Uzbegs into Transoxiana.

The southern provinces of the Mogul empire, namely Persia, Khorassan, and Cabul, with the nominal dominions over the Kurdish and other tribes, fell to Suli Khan, the fourth son of Genghiz.

Caracorum was the heart and centre of the grand empire; there, on the death of the great khan, deputies from all the lieutenancies went to assist in the election of a new one, and although in the case of these lieutenancies the sacred family of Genghiz was never departed from and the descent was practically hereditary, yet no khan was ever considered to be seated on their thrones until he had been invested with every ceremony by the great khan. Zenghiz made the Onijour Turks (the most cultivated race then in Asia) teach his people letters. It was probably from the same source that he derived his religion, for we are told he was a convert to the religion of Io, or Buddha, that form of it still found in Thibet and presided over by its grand lama. Buddhists, the Moguls have ever been since in their headquarters in Mongolistan; elsewhere it was different; the armies of Zenghiz were only in a small measure composed of his own folk. The Moguls proper formed only the picked men, the aristocracy, of his army; the rest consisted of contingents from every race he conquered; the largest of these was undoubtedly Turkish, in fact we may look upon the great bulk of his army as Turks. Now Buddhism has never been a favourite religion of the Turk races; it may be that it is too passive, too philosophical, too immaterial, for them. Mahometanism, since the crusading days of Mahmood of Ghazin, has ever been their special creed; and although one of the chief ways in which Genghiz showed his contempt for his southern victims was by trampling on the religion of Islam, and although he did effectually trample on it for a while, and his immediate descendants in Persia, Zajatai, and Kaptchak despised the religion of the caliphs, whose country they overran, it was eventually too strong for them. One by one they gave way and compelled their subjects to follow, and, like all converts, became very intolerant. It is questionable whether their conversion was so much religious as political, at least we find that

as converts they became as impatient as good Mussulmans should be of the domination of heretics and, one by one, the different Mogul khanates broke the links which bound them to their Buddhist masters at Caracorum. And now we find Mahommedanism and Buddhism to be perhaps as good tests as any we have of the Turk and Mogul nationalities. The border land, the marchland of the Khirgises deserts being unpronounced in their religious peculiarities, and partaking a little of those of both their neighbours. These deserts, known as Desht Jetch to the Mahommedan writers, were associated by them, as we gather from Timour's expressions, who calls them the relations of his own folk, more with unbelief in religion than with any ethnic peculiarities.

It is worth while to say a few words of each of the three greater khanates, namely Persia, Zagatai, and Kaptchak. Toulî khan, governor of Persia, left two sons, Manyon Khan and Hulakoo Khan; the former was elected grand khan on the death of Keyouk, the son of Octai, without issue. It was to him Rubriquis went as ambassador. Hulakoo Khan, in 1256, took Baghddad and killed the caliph; he then overran Persia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. He lived at Marajha in Alderbojan (Media), and died there in 1264. His successor, Abaka Khan, married the daughter of Michael Palæologus. His brother, who succeeded him, became a Mahometan under the name of Ahmed Khan; but he was an unimportant convert, for his successor received the investment of the sovereignty of Persia, Arabia, and Syria at the hands of the grand khan. Tabreez now became the capital of the empire. About 1300 Baider Khan, a grandson of Hulakoo, finally embraced Islam, with his followers, and threw off his allegiance to the Grand Khan, defacing his name from the Persian coins. This was followed by invasions from the more loyal country of Zagatai. Mahomed Khodanbundah, who succeeded in 1303, was the first to proclaim himself of the sect of Aly. His successor, Abon Seyd, was the last of the descendants of Hulakoo who possessed any real power, his successors were merely *rois fainéants*, and were finally overthrown by Timour.

Zagatai, the second son of Genghiz, was much respected by the Turks; one of their tribes, the Ouloss, took his name; the most polished dialect of Turkish is still called Chaghtai, and the provinces over which he ruled are often spoken of by his name. They answer generally to the Maouareunahar of the Arabs, but in their greatest extent were bounded by the Indus and the Ily. Zagatai died in 1242. Berrak was the name of his successor, who adopted Mahommedanism; he was styled sultan Djelaleddin. The rich city of Charizme, surrounded with

deserts and with its sturdy Turcoman soldiery, seems to have revolted from the chan in early times. It was never finally subdued till the days of Timour. The same may be said of the hill states of Badukshan, etc., and of Balkh. The dynasty of Zagatai in Transoxiana was supplanted, as we have shown, by Timour.

North of the Caspian and the Euxine, and answering to the three Tatar khanates of Crim, Astrakhan, and Casan, was the great dominion called Kaptchak, a name applied before the arrival of the Tatars, merely to the long valley separating the rivers Volga and Ural. I have already spoken of one invasion of this area made by the Tatars. Before the death of Baton, in 1255, they had completely subdued all Russia, had ravaged greater parts of Hungary and Poland. Baton was succeeded by his brother, Bereke, who embraced Mahommedanism. In 1258-59 his armies ravaged Lithuania, while he himself at Novgorod received the submission, and caused a census to be made of his Russian subjects. In his reign one of his generals, Nagaia, revolted, and created a fresh empire in the north of his dominions. His fame and power must have been great, for there is a large division of the Western Tatars, namely the Nogays, who trace their name and nationality to him. This rebellion weakened the khanate, and it sustained some reverses at the hands of the Russians. Yet Bereke's was a great name, and the plains of the Volga were long afterwards known as Desht Bereke. He was a cultivated man, built the city of Serai. The Mameluk Sultans of Egypt, exiles from Kaptchak, were his allies, and one of them built a magnificent mosque at Caffa, a Genoese town on the Niceote, distant three months' journey from Charizme.

The successor of Bereke was Maugon. In 1277 he attacked the Jazii or Jazyges who inhabited the forests in the middle of Lithuania, and took the city of Dediakok, where they had retired. In 1280 he ravaged Bulgaria and Poland. In 1286 his son and successor invaded Thrace and Macedonia. In 1288 the Mogols invaded Hungary and Cracovia; all this while Nagaia had governed an independent sovereignty in Northern Kaptchak. In 1291 he killed the khan of the southern empire and placed his own nominee, Toghtaton, on the throne; the latter, feeling that Nagaia was a dangerous and overpowerful dependent, with Tatar gratitude, had his benefactor killed; but his subjects never submitted, and to this day their roving hordes obey independent khans, although they were forced nominally to respect the superior khanate of Kaptchak. All this while the petty princes of Russia were quarrelling with one another and calling in the ever impartial Mogols to settle their

disputes, thus settling their differences by binding closer the yoke of their greatest enemies. In 1305 Uzbek Khan succeeded his father. He was a great favourite of his people, and for a while all the tribes of Kaptchak seem to have adopted his name. This name was only retained by a few tribes who, as we have already said, invaded Transoxiana and Persia. Uzbek was a good Mahometan, and tried to make his humble Russian subjects adopt his faith; and, in default of converting, he ravaged the broad lands of Russia, Poland, and Lithuania. His successor was the last descendant of Maugon Khan, who ruled over the Kaptchak. On his death anarchy succeeded. The strong hand of Ourouss Khan united the various tribes again. All this while the Grand-dukedom of the Russians was disposed of at will by the Mogols.

Tocatsuish, who succeeded Ourouss, was at first the protégé and then the enemy of Timour. In 1388 the army of Kaptchak, composed of Russians, Circassians, Bulgarians, Kaptchaks, and Crim Tatars, invaded Khojend, crossing the Sihon. Timour won a great victory, and then, marching across the Khirgis desert, passing the Tabal and the Samara, he advanced towards the Iaick. He defeated Tocatsuish, ravaged his country, and returned to Samarcand. In 1395 Tocatsuish invaded Persia. Timour drove him out, crossed the Caucasus, defeated Tocatsuish, and ravaged Southern Russia; ending by destroying Serai, the capital of Kaptchak. Timour's invasion led to great anarchy in the Kaptchak, and this ended in 1500, when the last khan who ruled over the whole country, namely, Mengheli Khan, died, in the foundation of the three independent khanates of Casan, Astrakhan, and Crim. The two former were very short-lived. Their extinction and absorption by the Russians I have detailed elsewhere; I have also shewn in the beginning of this paper how Crim became subject to Turkey, and became also its chief weapon of offence against Russia. We have thus epitomised the history of the Tatars as it affected the west. I will now give a short retrospect of their influences in an ethnological point of view.

Our difficulties are caused chiefly by the multiplication of differences in ethnological works. We must remember that Turan, the country beyond the Oxus, and including all Tatory, Mongolia, and Siberia, has ever been inhabited by races whose names are multiplied by their innumerable divisions into tribes and clans. Each name becomes associated with some idiosyncrasies to which we attach ethnological value, whereas the majority of them are of neither more nor less value than the names of families in England. The races which inhabit all these vast areas are more or less related to one another. They

all speak languages of the agglutinative type, and have many words of their vocabularies in common. They all have features and a physique which would be classed in Blumenbach's system as Mongolian. They are all, more or less, nomades—hunters and fishermen.

If we take tribes from remote areas, we shall find, no doubt, great marks of difference; but these are all shaded off when we examine the intermediate links. It is impossible to classify any tribe rigidly as belonging to any one class. If by Ugrian we mean those tribes living in the north of Siberia, of which the Fins and Ostiaks are types; by Turk, those prouder races which have been the frontagers of a civilised empire, and have thence received grafts of a more energetic blood, and have had their language and manners altered and corrupted, of which the Zagatai Turks are the type; and by Mongolian, those cognate races who have adopted the religion as they have been affected by the blood of the Chinese, it is as far as we can safely go. The opinion of the writer is, that the Ugrians are the substratum of all these races. That the Turks are but Ugrians mixed with Tajick or Persian, and with German blood, and the Mogols are the same race mixed with Chinese blood. The main effect of the Mogol invasions was the drifting towards the west of tribes marked by Mogol features and the displacing of tribes having a more decided Turkish feature. I do not think that south of the Jaxartes the infusion of Mogul blood was very great. The higher caste, the aristocracy of the country, was probably recruited from that source, but the main element in the various Mogul colonies of Persia, Khorassan, and India, was undoubtedly Turkish. The great Mogul area at present is the country surrounding the great desert of Goli, bounded on the east by Manchuria, on the south by the Great Wall of China and by Thibet, on the north by the Amoor, and on the west by the Little Altai, etc. Not that in all this area we have a homogeneous people. The Buriats, who live north of lake Baikal, and form the chief element of the population of the government of Irkulsck are a transition race, and have many Turkish peculiarities. The Khalkas, who live on the borders of the Amoor, are also modified by foreign contacts. But, speaking generally, this area now contains the main strength of the Mogul population. Its most western element being the Kalmucks who live.

Whether the Moguls had advanced as far as the Little Altai before the time of Zenghiz is an obscure question, depending a good deal on the nationality we assign the tribes known as Naymans, Keraites, and Merkits; and I do not propose to consider it in this paper. There can be little doubt that before this time the Mogol influence, *west* of the Altai and in the

Khirgises, was not great, for we find the Khirgises between the Igours and the Turks of Transoxiana, at least, in the same position. After the time of Zenghiz these Khirgises formed the great marching road of the time of De Guignes the Khirgises were subdued, now they are divided between the Russians

They are divided into four divisions, namely the Little Horde, and Great Horde, and the Karakalpacs. The country between Kaptchak and the country of the Kalmucks, and they resemble the Kalmucks in appearance, and can muster 50,000 men. They live in Western Turkistan, near the Caspian, known as Moukats, a name which reminds us of the Tartars. Their religion is a debased form of Mahomedanism. They have neither Koran Mollakis, nor Mosques, in constant war with all their neighbours save the Russians, like them, Mahometans. We may look upon them as a mixture of Turks and Moguls, with the earlier Tartars. I shall have to revert to them in the second part.

As I said the Tatars of Cazam are of remarkably the same remark applies to all the Tatars of the country. They are, to a great extent, agriculturists. The nomads form the roving population of the Steppes, the Moukats, are, according to the testimony of Mr. Guthrie, and De Hell, distinguishable from the Tartars by their coarser features, approaching in this respect to the Chinese and Moguls; their food is flesh and milk, and they are an apology for that of Islam. Among the nomads they are divided into Great and Little Nogays; the former in Astrakhan, etc., the latter on the Don and the Volga. The names of their tribes recall many interesting discussions. They prove how mixed a race they are. We have seen how the Kaptchaks, Naimans, As. Maudzab, and others numbered 2,835 tents in 1732.

I have collected their traditions, which hardly harmonize with the accounts of De Guignes. I prefer the account of the Chinese. We have already seen how Nogaia formed an independent sovereignty to the north of the Kaptchak. We find traditions among the Bashkirs to prove how the influence of the Nogays among them for the least of which is the fact that one great division of territory is still called Nogay Street.

As to the roots of the Ural mountains between the Volga and the Ural, the Nogays spread to the north. This happened chiefly on the decay of the

other khanates in the sixteenth century. In 1613 they ravaged the Ukraim, and passed the river Occa. Thence they spread over the country north of the Crimea, where they still remain in detached fragments. Among these are the Budziaks who live between the Bug and the Danube. For a long time before Bessarabia was conquered by the Russians these Tatars had been independent, and were ruled by their own Mirzas. On the Russian advance most of them crossed into Turkey; the few who still remain are now subject to Russia. North of the Euxine and the Sea of Azof, and south of the Kouma to the Caucasus, the Nogays were nominally subject to the Crim Khan. They are known as Black Nogays, and are celebrated for their predatory habits.

The steppes which border all the northern half of the Caspian are, as they ever must have been, the homes of wandering nomads. No other life than that of a nomad would be possible there. It is not strange that we find analogies in the pages of Herodotus to customs still prevailing in the camps of the Nogays. These customs are the hereditary heirlooms and necessities of tribes living a difficult and precarious life, and were adopted by each succession of invaders. The absolute subjection of such tribes is almost impossible, a new race cannot in the desert, as in a settled country, make a clean sweep of the old inhabitants. No net can be laid there to catch more than a few, and changes are only effected by gradual infiltration. Hence it happens that we meet in the desert as in obscure mountain districts with the oldest relics of population, and the truth is exemplified in the case of the Nogays and Khirgisies.

I have reached another stage in the inquiry. The year 1218, when the officers of Zenghiz crossed the Volga, gives us the date of the first appearance of the Tatars in the west. With this date I will close this portion of my subject.

ORDINARY MEETING, JANUARY 12th, 1869.

ROBERT DUNN, Esq., V.-P., *in the Chair.*

New Members.—Captain CHARLES EDWARD STEWART; Captain ALEXANDER HAMILTON, R.E.

Mr. Hyde Clarke made some remarks on the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Lord Strangford.

Mr. Hyde Clarke made the following remarks on the Growth of a New Superstition relating to the Possession of a Lion Shilling:—

III.—Note on the Rise of a Recent Superstition in London.—The Lion Shilling. By HYDE CLARKE.

WHAT is called "The Lion Shilling" is a shilling of George IV of 1826, with the royal crest of a lion on the crown on the obverse. This is considered by many persons to be a lucky shilling, and that so long as anyone has a lion shilling in his pocket he will be lucky. Many respectable persons have carried lion shillings for years, till they are well-worn, and the superstition is well known among the lower classes, both to men and women.

How this superstition originated does not appear. It is not founded on a preceding legend, and must have sprung up since 1826. I have known of it from 1832.

The feature of interest to the Society is this, that a superstition should have sprung up in our days, and have spread widely in the large population of the metropolis, and for anything I have known, elsewhere.

A discussion followed, in which Col. Lane Fox and Dr. Donovan took part.

The Honorary Secretary then read the second part of the first portion of Mr. Howorth's paper, on the Westerly Drifting of Nomads, as already given in previous pages.

A discussion followed, in which remarks were made by Mr. Hyde Clarke, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Black.

ORDINARY MEETING, JANUARY 26th, 1869.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

New Members.—Captain LINDSAY BRINE, R.N.; Dr. JONES LAMPREY, 67th Regiment.

Colonel A. Lane Fox, Hon. Sec., exhibited a marble armlet which he had recently obtained from Mr. H. Warren Edwards, H. M. Consul at Lukoja on the Niger, and Assistant in charge of the Niger expedition. The ring is of black marble, with white veins, it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. interior diameter, and 1 in. thick, flat on the inside, and rounded on the outside. The following letter on the subject was read to the Meeting:—

"Dear Sir,—I am afraid that I can give you but little information respecting the ring. I bought it of Dantowai, a Haussa-man, in August, 1865. He wore it on the left arm, just above the elbow. I was then at Lukoja, confluence of the Barie and Niger. Dantowai had been in the employ of

Dr. Baikie; he had considerable knowledge of the country, having spent nearly the whole of his life (he appeared to be about 45 to 50 years old) in travelling from place to place, by his own account kidnapping boys, and selling them at the nearest place he could do so with safety. This ring he had brought some considerable distance. The stone is found plentifully where it was made, but only a few of them are made, the labour being too great; the tools used are of iron. It is afterwards rubbed with another kind of stone to make it smooth. The name of the place I find I have omitted noting. He attached considerable value to it, and I had some trouble in inducing him to part with it. I wish I could have furnished you with a more full and interesting account of it and the people who make them. I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

“H. WARREN EDWARDS.”

Mr. Edwards also stated that this was the only ring of this material he saw during two years residence at Lukoja.

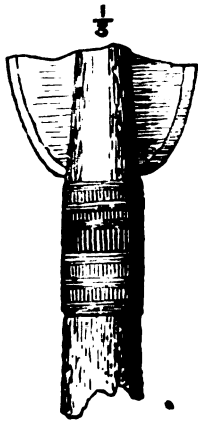
Col. A. Lane Fox exhibited a bronze spear, with a gold ferule and a shaft of bog oak, obtained from Lough Gur, County Limerick, respecting which he communicated the following remarks:—

The spear exhibited this evening, which is, I believe, quite unique in so far as its gold ferule and shaft are concerned, was found either in, or more probably in the peat bog adjoining, Lough Gur, County Limerick, a locality which, as many Members of the Society are probably aware, has been very productive of implements of stone and bronze. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of its discovery, but from inquiries which I have caused to be made of a person residing in the neighbourhood, I have reason to believe that it was found in the year 1857 or 8. It was taken to the late Lord Guillamore, on whose property I believe it was found, and it appears to have remained in his possession until May, 1868, when it was purchased by the Rev. Dr. Neligan, at an auction which took place at Lord Guillamore's house. On the 7th December, 1868, Dr. Neligan's things were sold at Sotheby's, and the spear then fell into my hands.

It is 6 ft. 1 in. in length from the point to the but end of the shaft. The bronze head is 1 ft. 4 in. from the point to the base of the socket. The blade is 1 ft. 2 in. long, and $3\frac{1}{8}$ th greatest breadth, of the form known as the leaf-shaped. The socket is 2 in. long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ th in. outside diameter. Around the socket at top and bottom are two ferules of very thin gold each $\frac{3}{8}$ th in. in width. Each ferule is ornamented with three bands, scored with from four to seven incised transverse lines,



MARBLE ARMLET FROM LUKOJA.



BRONZE SPEAR-HEAD FROM LOUGH GUR.

from each other by two bands scored with incised lines. The two ferules are separated by a space of an inch in width, in which longitudinal lines of gold have been scored in the bronze, leaving an intervening line between each of the gold lines. The two gold ferules are perfect, but the gold has disappeared from all but the longitudinal lines upon the space between the shaft and the haft which, exclusive of the part inserted in the socket, is $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, is composed of bog-oak, cut, and polished; it is larger in the middle, and tapers slightly towards the ends. The shaft has since been broken in two, and fitted together sufficiently to show the original

condition, but unable to obtain an authentic account of the history of the spear. Dr. Neligan, however, informs me that the Earl of Eglar's butler assured him that he had seen the spear lying on the lake, with the shaft attached to it, and the socket covered with bog stuff. In confirmation of this, it is seen that the rivet is covered with patina, and when pressed to one side fits accurately to the socket holes in such a manner as to show that the pieces were put together. I have submitted the spear to Mr. J. C. Fox, of Cockspur Street, for examination, and he has given his decided opinion that the condition of the rivet may be regarded as a proof of genuineness. I have, however, with the evidence afforded by the above, thought it advisable to submit the wood of the spear to the examination by Dr. Hooker, F.R.S., Director of the Royal Gardens at Kew, who has been kind enough to send me his opinion on the subject:—

“ ROYAL GARDENS, KEW, *January 4th*, 1869.

LANE FOX—I have carefully examined your specimen, and compared the wood with our specimens of bog-oak in the Museum of Economic Botany here. In relation to its origin, it must come under one of four categories. It may have been originally made of fresh oak, and afterwards converted into bog oak by immersion. This is most likely the case, as the weathered surface of all our specimens of bog-oak is of an entirely different character. It may have been made recently of bog-oak, and to this I am of opinion that this cannot have been the case, as the cut surfaces are wholly unlike those of recent bog-oak, and altogether resemble the old cut surfaces of bog-oak that have been dug up recently, but many ages ago. A due examination of the fissures

and depressed surfaces and of the but end, convinces me that the shaft has not been recently worked, and that it has been cleaned only, and this very superficially, of late years. The surfaces within the socket and those exposed by the corroded central part of the spear-head, are likewise confirmatory of its age.

"3rd. It may be supposed that it is an old worked shaft, made for another purpose, but only lately fitted to the spear-head; but, beside the extreme improbability of a bog oak shaft of precisely suitable form and dimensions being at hand for this purpose, the condition of the end in the socket, and of the socket and pins, wholly negative such an assumption.

"4th. The only alternative is that the shaft was originally made for the spear-head, and I see no reason to doubt that such was the case, whilst there is much evidence (see 2) in its favour.

"It will be observed that the shaft tapers at both ends, an unlikely form for a forger to have selected—and that it is *not turned*, but shaped out of a solid block of oak, which must have been of very considerable dimensions, and very difficult to work, suggesting the dignity of its original possessor.

"Very faithfully yours, JOS. D. HOOKER."

The foregoing opinion of Dr. Hooker is in all respects favourable to the genuineness of the shaft, and suggests the probability of its having owed its preservation to the fact of its having been originally constructed of bog oak. The part of the shaft at the base of the socket is much worn, evidently by the friction of the socket in use; and, owing probably to the wood having slightly shrunk, it fits the socket much more loosely than it would have done had it been recently fitted to it. Although this is, I believe, the first example on record of a bronze spear from Ireland or England inlaid with gold, swords and other implements of the bronze period so ornamented, have been discovered in Denmark, and are figured in the "Atlas of Northern Antiquities." I may add that the spear has been exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries and has elicited from several of the members, including perhaps our best authority on the subject, Mr. Franks, a general opinion in favour of the genuineness of both ferule and shaft.

Mr. Black exhibited a Collection of Chinese Coins and Medals used as Talismans and Charms, upon which he made the following remarks:—

IV.—On Chinese Charms. By W. H. BLACK, Esq.

FOLLOWING up Mr. Hyde Clarke's recent observations, on the use of coins as charms, a collection of Chinese charms was ex-

hibited by W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., consisting of the following articles, which he verbally described :—

Nine large coins or medals of various sizes, the largest of which is two inches and seven-eighths in diameter, pierced with a circular hole in the centre; the next is pierced in like manner; the third is beetle-shaped, with three round perforations in as many loops; the others are pierced with square holes, as in the common coinage of China. Some of them bear the signs of the zodiac, and others unusual devices; and all are believed to have been used as talismans, before they were brought to Europe, about ten years ago.

Six large coins or amulets, of great antiquity, pierced circularly. One of them consists of dragons wrought in open-work within a wheel; another has a square loop or handle: both are of deep green bronze. They are all described as used for "charms", in the MS. catalogue of the cabinet from which this drawer is taken, compiled by a native Chinese; and they constitute part of a valuable collection of Chinese coins brought over by T. H. Chapman, Esq., of Foochow, in December last.

A sword, made of thin Chinese coins, struck on one side only, and fastened with wire on both sides of a thin rod of iron. The number of pieces is fifty-two on each side. It is supposed to have been used for magical purposes; and perhaps is an emblem of the power of money. The coins overlap one another, as the scales of a fish.

A Chinese paper dollar, covered with silvered paper, in imitation of the Spanish dollars current in China: the date is "1701". They are used for burning in sacrifice.

Ten amulets in the form of sigils, of various shapes and colours; consisting of a perfumed paste or clay, through which coloured threads or cords pass, with loops, to attach these charms to the person or dress.

Eighteen feminine ornaments, mounted on pins, of different sizes, patterns, and bright colours, representing fantastic animals and flowers. These are commonly sold as charms, and worn in the hair of Chinese women.

Mr. Hyde Clarke then read the following paper :—

V.—On the Proto-Ethnic Condition of Asia Minor, the Khalubes (Chalybes), Idæi Dactyli, etc., and their Relations with the Mythology of Ionia.
By HYDE CLARKE, F.E.S., Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, Corresponding Member of the American Oriental Society, etc.

ON a former occasion I called the attention of the Ethnological Society to the occupation of the mountains of Asia Minor by the tribes engaged in mining, referring to the Khalubes of old

and the Gipsies of the Besh Parmak or Five Finger mountains of the present day. (On the Propagation of Mining and Metallurgy, by Hyde Clarke.—*Ethnological Journal*, 1868.)

Recent observations have led me to take up the subject of the old hill mining tribes in more detail, because they give us what we must for the time accept as the oldest known populations in Asia Minor; because they give a key to the diffusion of population in the region, and the movements of the subsequent races; and, thirdly, because they had a close connection with the mythology of the district.

The opinion of eminent scholars, and particularly of those of the Sanscrit School, is, that the origin of the mythology of Greece and Ionia is to be sought among the Aryans; and they have given such ingenious explanations from Sanskrit philology and such elucidations from Indian practices, as to have gained the assent of the learned world. Few have dared to doubt doctrines supported by men of deserved reputation; but the more I have thought upon it, the more I have been convinced that the mythology of Ionia, at all events, could not be the absolute creation of the Aryans, or Indo-Europeans. As I succeeded in determining populations long antecedent to the Indo-European, and altogether alien, so I saw that not only must these populations have had a worship of some kind, but that their worship was already ancient in the early Indo-European epoch.

It is therefore utterly inconsistent to suggest an Indo-European origin, and however plausible the explanations may be, they cannot be correct. The explanation I suggest is this—that the Indo-Europeans in adopting the gods and worship of the anterior populations, chiefly applied an Indo-European nomenclature, and it is thus that scholars have been able to suggest etymological explanations of meanings and appellations which, after all, are long posterior to the things themselves. In some cases, ancient and non-Aryan words were retained and transmitted by the Indo-European settlers. As to resemblances between practices in India and those in the west, we have yet to ascertain what are Dravidian and what are Aryan, and what anterior to either, what belonging to that Tibeto-Caucasian period, which unites India and the western world.

Mythology is becoming a most important branch of ethnology, because it affords us records of some of the earliest impressions of the human mind, and has its relations to the history of mind, as bones and skulls to the history of the human frame, and as implements become material tablets of mental records. Mythology and philology are particularly valuable as assisting us in determination, where written history gives us little or no help.

The whole mountain system of Asia Minor, its backbone and ribs, are metalliferous, and they present deposits of hematite iron, accessible on the surface, in the neighbourhood of wood, and easily fusible. One legend affirms that the discovery of iron on the Mount Ida was owing to the accidental burning of woods fusing iron ore. This is inconsistent with another myth of the discovery of iron there; and although it may express a possible mode of the early discovery of the smelting process, yet the smelting of iron ore in Asia Minor was propagated by mining tribes. The application of the theory of an iron age, and indeed of the bronze age, will have to be greatly modified, so far as relates to Asia Minor and other countries of a like formation.

These mountains were occupied in the historical period by tribes engaged in smelting, that were called Khalubes. It will be shown that these pursuits are actually carried on in modern times near the site of the Khalubes and that of the Daktuli.

The Khalubes of Xenophon were barbarians, and the point naturally suggests itself that they were on that spot long antecedent. At the earliest date in Greek history and fable, iron is spoken of, and there are several legends in reference to it. It is by piecing these together we shall get a consistent whole, helping us in a clue to the ethnology, mythology and history; for where we have bones enough of the skeleton, so one bone helps us to a knowledge of the other, and we can build all together.

It is necessary first to explain the present state of the subject. Greek mythology and archaic history are made up by a confused intermixture of materials from the various countries of Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus, and Hellas, and these have been treated first by the Romans, and so successively by all others, from the nearest western point, namely an Hellenic aspect. Now, if the myths originated in the east and passed to the west, it is evident we shall be looking through a wrong medium. This is irrespective of the false etymologies and confusion of events perpetrated by the Greeks themselves, in some cases utterly ignorant of the real events, and unpossessed of the means of elucidating them. Another cause of difficulty is that in the migrations to and fro, the legends of one place were localised as those of another of the same name; each Ida and each Olympus had the same legends.

The measure necessary to arrive finally at a correct decision is the unravelling of this skein. All this is a work of time and labour. For my own part, I cannot yet effect it; I can only make public those conclusions at which I have as

now arrived, with the wish that my errors may be corrected, and that the right channels indicate, may be properly explored.

It is essentially necessary to profit by what we know of Western Asia Minor, treating it not as a Greek country, but as a barbarian country, into which the Greeks penetrated. My present view of its ethnological strata is this:—

The Hellenic Greeks and allied Tribes ;

The Iberian ;

The Amazon, or Tibeto-Caucasians ;

The Khalubes and Hill Tribes, possibly of more than one stock.

It is questionable whether any descendants of the Greeks remain in Asia Minor. Those so called are partly of Tibeto-Caucasian stock, and partly possibly of Iberian. The Amazons or Tibeto-Caucasians are represented *in situ* by Lazians, Suans, or Tsanni and Georgians. It is possible that some of the hill tribes were allied to the other existing Caucasian nations. It is not here attempted to determine what the Khalubes were, but in the main they must have been ethnologically separate from the succeeding Amazon population, and perhaps included earlier aborigines mixed up with them. The natural key to a comprehension of Asia Minor in the Hellenic period is India, with its Aryans in the north and its Dravidians in the south ; with Aryan-speaking Dravidians, and with hill tribes of various physical features, speaking Aryan, Dravidian, and Tibeto-Caucasian languages, or mixtures of these, and possibly retaining relics of earlier languages. It is particularly desirable to bear in mind these hill tribes, tributary—held as inferiors, barbarians, brutes and outcasts, given to bloody superstitions, and yet exercising an influence by their own superstitions on the superstitions of the inhabitants of the plains. Our Hon. Member, Mr. W. W. Hunter, in the “*Rural Annals of Bengal*,” shows that if the Aryans have influenced the non-Aryans, so have the non-Aryans influenced them.

At each epoch in Asia Minor, the remnant of aborigines in the hills would be growing smaller, and approaching extinction, because in the case of the smelters, they were small in numbers under most circumstances, as their market was small, and when a great manufacture sprang up, the hills were filled with strangers, and also from time to time the other races took refuge in the hills. The blood of the Khalubes may still flow in the veins of some of the inhabitants of Lazistan, but their language and nationality must be lost, unless so far as special relics may yet be identifiable.

It will be most convenient to proceed at once to treat the subject without building up step by step.

ng at the end, we have the Khalubes of Xenophon now Lazistan, among the mountains. [Xenoph. They worked iron and formerly silver.

Byzantinus places Khalubes on the Thermodon, supposed to be erroneous, but in which he is very

vi, ch. 19) speaks of Armeno-Khalubes to the e were very likely an eastern extension of smelt-

ment of the later historians that the Khalubes and were the same, is an error.

1, formerly Cenoë in Pontus in the neighbourhood ibes, Hamilton (vol. i, p. 275) found people a few orking iron with charcoal. This appears to have ite, as in the Besh Parmak mountains. The Oonieh at to Constantinople.

bes are placed by Herodotus (B. i. p. 28) between lyni and Paphlagones, at that time in the empire of 'his has been contested, but is most likely right.

e Khalubes are possibly connected with Pessinos in the south. As this was a great temple of Cybele, I a tribe of Khalubes, represented by the Galli, priests who, it is to be observed, have no ethnological con- h the subsequent Gallic invaders.

abes in Phrygia, generally as connected with the Cybele.

li or Finger Khalubes, in the Five Finger Moun- ria, opposite Tralles, to the south of the Mæander

strict, now called the Besh Parmak Mountains, is where the Chingani or Gipsies are now working ron.

ese were connected the Korubantes and Kuretes, Cybele, in Mount Latmus and the other mountains e termination of the chain of Messogis.

Daktyli, Daktyls or Fingers of Mount Ida, a colony , Fingers, brought in for the purpose of working re were possibly Daktyls, on Mount Sipylus, near great shrine of Cybele.

sign colonies extensions were—

amothrace, Lemnos, and it is to be suspected in the districts from the names of Olympus.

race was a great seat of Cybeline mysteries, and d by the Kabeiri.

rete, a colony of Daktyls carried over by Mygdon and who introduced the legends of Ida in Asia

(Diodorus Siculus, v, 64). Diodorus (v, 65) says, the Curetes taught the people of Crete the keeping of flocks of goats and sheep, bee keeping, and the forging and smelting of metals. All these are arts of the hill tribes.

c. In Cyprus, the Daktyls discovered iron (Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* p. 362.)

Idalus, a mountain of Cyprus, has a strong resemblance in name to the Ida of Asia, and that of Crete.

d. In Rhodes, the Telchines.

e. In Lemnos possibly the Cyclops, who made armour.

It is now necessary to connect the eastern Khalubes or historical Khalubes with the western mythic or Finger Khalubes. To do this we must pick out the legends.

The Dactyli Idæi, in the latter ages of Jovism, were well known as benevolent beings, to whom divine honours were paid, and whose very name was an infallible preservative in all times of terror and danger. There were also stones and amulets, called Dactyli Idæi, of sovereign virtue, and worn on the thumb. These stones in thumb-rings we have to trace back from the inanimate to the animate, from the mythic to the real, from names to living men. The Dactyli Idæi, being so well known, were named by several writers, who have given us various tales, all agreeing in the main, and which can be reconciled and made consistent. Although the Cretans claimed the Idæi Dactyli for their Mount Ida, and greatly developed the worship, yet the best authorities agree that they belonged to Mount Ida in Asia, and there we must restore them. One consequence of this is we get rid of their too close connection with the worship of Zeus, developed in Crete, and see more clearly their connection with the earlier worship of the Mother of the Gods.

The Dactuli properly and originally were not Idæan Daktyls at all. Their connection with Mount Ida was casual. The explanation in the Parian Chronicle is clear that two emigrant Daktyls discovered iron on Mount Ida. This appears to have been a later event, and by the western Greeks this event was treated confusedly, and consequently the Daktyls were immediately connected with Mount Ida, and a host of fable and false etymology raised thereon. Pollux (ii, 4) satisfies himself that the Daktyls were so called from living at the foot or roots of Mount Ida, *ἐν δακτύλοις*. Phrygia is agreed to be the original seat of the Daktyls, and they are connected with the worship of Cybele. Strabo tells a Phrygian legend of there being ten men, or as many as the fingers on a man's two hands. He also relates another opinion that there were but five Daktyls, who, according to Sophocles, were the inventors of

iron. Strabo says the Kuretes and Korubantes were descended from the Daktyls. Diodorus Siculus, a less Asiatic authority, takes his inspiration chiefly from Crete. He says the Daktyls lived on Mount Ida, in Crete; that some said they were a hundred, others only five, "equal in number to the fingers of a man's hand," whence they had the name of Daktyli; that they were magicians and addicted to mystical ceremonies; that Orpheus was their disciple, and carried their mysteries into Greece; that the Daktyli invented iron and fire, and had been recompensed with divine honours. Diomedes the Grammarians, stated that they were priests of Cybele, called Idæi, because that goddess was chiefly worshipped on Mount Ida, in Phrygia. He says they were called Daktyli, because, to prevent Chronos (Saturn) from hearing the cries of the infant Zeus (Jupiter) whom Cybele had committed to their custody, they sung Daktylic verses.

The Daktyls were iron workers from Phrygia, taking their name from Five Fingers. The tradition of Ephesus placed the Korubantes and their nurseling in the neighbouring mountains. From these mountains are seen another remarkable chain in continuation. These mountains are on the south side of the Great Mæander, and present five peaks,—a landmark around. The Turks call them expressly Besh Parmak, the Five Fingers, and, as already stated, at this day there are the iron mines, worked by Gipsies, who smelt the iron ore with charcoal, and convert the metal into horseshoes and nails, which they send into the neighbouring markets. The present name must be considered as the representative of the old name. Hence, we may conclude that Daktuli, or Fingers, was only the name given by the earliest Hellenes to the aboriginal smelting population of the Five Finger Mountains.

The ancient name of the Besh Parmak is not ascertained, but must have been Πέντε Δακτύλοι, or Five Fingers. Kiepert has placed Mount Latmos in that locality on his map of Asia Minor. Latmos, however, I consider, belongs to the southern chain, parallel to the Besh Parmak. The Besh Parmak mountains were well suited to shelter a hill tribe. On the north and west they are sheltered by the broad stream of the Great Mæander river, in the east by the Chinar river, and on the south they had in former days the Gulf of Miletus.

On the map of Tchihacheff there is a group of mountains on the Upper Mæander, beyond Denizlu, named by him as Besh Parmak, but there is no apparent authority for this, nor would it affect the question as to the other group.

The Turkish name, as stated, is Besh Parmak, and the local Greek name I find to be Pende Daktuloi. Thus the Turkish

name has been taken from the Greek inhabitants, and to them has descended from the old Greeks, which meets the present case. Whether, as the meaning has been translated from Greek into Turkish, it descended from some earlier language into Greek, we have no means of deciding.

Of these Finger Khalubes, some occupied the mountains between Magnesia ad Mæandrum and Ephesus, under the name of Korubantes and Kuretes. Magnesia ad Mæandrum was in the time of the Romans a great city for metal working, and the manufacturing of arms, as I consider from the medals dedicated to Vulcan, and the neighbouring formations, which appear to me to be slagheaps. This group of Latmos and other mountains lies between the Cayster and Mæander in compact shape.

The Finger men were considered as the worshippers, holders of the shrines, and natural priests of the Mother of the Gods, older than Diana, Zeus, or all the gods, being the oldest god of the country. So far as can be judged, the object of worship was a stone, and apparently a meteoric stone. A meteoric stone, falling from heaven, was always reckoned as a god or godlike statue from heaven, and its connection with iron gave the Khalubes and Finger-men a claim on it, whether in their own haunts, or found outside.

The worship of the Khalubes may be considered to have been that of a holy stone, and not necessarily of a goddess, or of a mother of gods, and they may be assumed to have worshipped also the sun and the moon.

This development of a worship of the Mother of the Gods in its latter forms is of external invention, and the same may be judged of its earlier forms. The Khalubes profited by the doctrines attributed to their goddess, and were the accepted priests of the goddess throughout Asia Minor.

The chief seats of the worship were Ephesus, Mount Sipylus near Smyrna, Mount Ida, Pessinos in Galatia, and Mount Berecynthus, in Phrygia.

The Mount Sipylus, near Smyrna, and Magnesia ad Sipylum, had a privileged temple; and the statue on the rock Codinus, which was the most ancient statue of all, and attributed to Broteus, the son of Tantalus. Sipylus is a metalliferous mountain (Pausanias, iii, 22). It is stated to have produced brass. The magnet is said to have been discovered at Magnesia ad Sipylum, and named *Μαγνήσιος Λίθος*, or *Μαγνης*; it was also called *Λυδία λίθος*.

Ida is connected and confounded with Gargara. In the latter mountain, zinc appears to have been worked near Andira (Strabo, xiii), and M. Texier found scorïæ at Assos.

At Ephesus, there is no present record of a temple of Cybele, —one reason may be that it was merged in that of Hekate; another, that it was in a village or town of Mount Solmissus, above Ortygia. However, all legends point to this district, and the Five Finger Mountains, or Besh Parmak, as the scene of the personal presence of the goddess. The statue of Diana, of Ephesus, said to have fallen from heaven, and supposed to be a log, may have been a meteorite of that shape, and originally devoted to Cybele.

Pessinos, in the latter ages, was the main seat of the worship. The statue there was a meteorite, fallen from heaven, but was transferred to Rome. The priests, called Galli, descended from the Khalubes, or imitating them, practised barbarous rites.

The real centre of the worship of the mother of the gods was in the mountains near Ephesus, and a connected theory may be formed. The Khalubes were known to the Amazons and Iberians as Kuretes and Korubantes,—to the Greeks, as Fingermen.

The Amazon foundation of Ephesus would restrain the hill tribes. At this period is, perhaps, to be placed the legend of Chronos (Saturn) and Zeus (Jupiter), and not in the Iberian time. A son of Chronos, one of the princes of the Amazons, was sent for safety to the hills, and brought up by those tribes. In subsequent contests, the young man, by means of the tribes, defended his father's kingdom, and afterwards, by the help of those allies, deposed his father. Such may be the real origin of the Jovian legends, and in time we may be able to classify such materials as have been handed down to us.

The legends point to a settlement of Crete by Mygdon, or Minos, at the head of a body of adventurers, including numbers of the hill tribes, by whom the name was given to Ida, who introduced and practised the rites of Cybele, as the more advanced settlers did that of their deified ancestor,—Jove. Hence, the localisation in Crete of so many Jovian legends.

It is strange that the worship of Cybele waned in later times at Ephesus; and this may have been owing to the dying off of the hill tribes. The mysteries and magic rites of Ephesus may have been their legacy. It is strange, too, that the worship of Jove himself did not flourish in his own birthplace and cradle at Ephesus; but the great god was Diana at Ephesus, at Magnesia, and in the neighbouring country. Diana must have been a goddess of after-ages, perhaps of the Iberians, who fused the worship of a natural goddess with that of Cybele; hence the birth of Diana at Ephesus. The worship of a deified man would flourish best at a distance; and so, that of Jove

was developed among the Hellenes, and their princes claimed descent from the gods. It is, however, worthy of notice, that the Megabyzi, the high-priests of Diana at Ephesus, were eunuchs, which is suggestive of their connexion with the ancient priesthood of the Cybele.

The Hellenes, coming later, worked up the older mythology into a system, which in Hesiod is naturalistic in its origin. Hence we have Heaven and Earth producing Time and the Mother of the Gods, these were the parents of Jupiter, and Jupiter of Diana and the later gods. Time is, perhaps, only a term for the men of unknown antiquity, and not, as it was later understood, as the passage of events. This artificial and consistent genealogy, afterwards adopted among the Greeks and Romans, and into which they introduced all local gods, does not represent the original state of affairs, nor are the names employed by the Hellenic Indo-European mythologists susceptible of giving us a clue to the real origins.

After the Amazon time, the worship of Cybele was maintained through that of the Iberians, down to the arrival of the Hellenes. Each contending party would use the hill tribes, and each conqueror of the port or citadel on the plain would acquire the tribute of the smelters and charcoal-burners.

The name of Cercopes I find mixed with that of Leleges in the legends of Asia Minor, Crete and the islands generally. There must have been many races, of various origin, down to the period of the Hellenic invaders and colonisers. Each leader, Iberian and Hellenic, would, in his way, head bands not only of his own people but of hillmen, particularly those useful as smiths and armourers, and also when they led forth colonies. Various races are recognisable in the history of Crete.

Many of these migrations must have taken place antecedent to any movement of the Phœnicians in the Levant seas. The hillmen had a share in the migrations to Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, Lemnos, Samothrace, and, it is to be presumed, to the European Continent. To them may be attributed the mountain names of Ida and Olympus; many of the mountain names of Asia Minor and Greece appear to be neither Amazon nor Iberian; very few Iberian.

The metals worked by the Khalubes may be taken to be iron, bronze, silver, and gold, and these they worked upon into weapons and armour, but the gold discoveries of the golden age of Saturn must have been performed by the Amazons or Iberians.

While their descendants, and afterwards aliens, carried on the metal-working labours of the Khalubes down to our day, another part of their national existence was represented by the

priests of Cybele, degenerating in the Roman epoch to a mob of loafing adventurers, imitating the debasement of savages. The Kuretes and Korubantes of Ephesus and Crete, and the Kabeiri of Samothrace, coming under more intellectual auspices, developed a system of mysteries or initiation, and practised magic and incantations, but the Galli of Pessinos, in a wilder district, preserved the native barbarism.

The chief points here sought to be explained are the situation of the Daktyli, their occupation as metal-workers in the hills, their connection with the worship of the mother of the gods, and the relationship of the Daktyli and their neighbours with the Khalubes of the east and of classic times. Further, the share the Daktyli had in the Jovian legends, and in the diffusion of metal-working and colonization in the islands of the eastern Mediterranean, and most probably in Europe.

The further study of this subject will elucidate the relations of the Amazons, the Iberians, the undefined Cecropes, Leleges and Pelasgi, and of the Hellenes, and the true history of their various migrations. By the help of a few remaining words and by myths, we may identify them with the archaic history of India, as the Amazons are already philologically connected with the valleys of the Himalayas and Assam.

If we can assign to each stock its national mythology, we may obtain a better means of identification. The European relations of the Hellenes and the Iberians are known; further investigations may develop those of the Khalubes and Amazons. It may be that among these hill tribes we may find explanations of the legends of the colonies from Africa, established in the north, and that the ethnology and mythology of some of the hill tribes may be found to have a southern relationship with Ethiopia and not an eastern one with India. The giants of Tartarus, the common offspring of heaven and earth, may symbolise the black races, which may have been localised in Asia Minor as in India. The chief endeavour throughout has been to analyse the confused mass of facts, and to assign each to its own locality; and particularly to Asia Minor, those belonging to that ancient and remarkable centre of civilisation, thereby illustrating the antiquity of its civilisation and that of the useful arts, better developed and recorded there than in Continental Greece.

The legend of Saturn devouring his children may be a confused reminiscence of the cannibalism or bloody practices of the aborigines. Many of the Galli were eunuchs, for which various legendary reasons were given relating to the Mother of the Gods, but the practice was, perhaps, aboriginal, and connected with some propensity for castration, such as exists in

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Russian skopetz. When a young man resorted to this rite, he threw off his clothes, rushed naked into a troop of Galli, and castrated himself with a sword or rather long knife. He then ran about the streets, bearing in his hands the marks of his mutilation, which he threw into some house, and in that house put on the clothing of a woman. In later times they travelled about from village to village, carrying an image of the goddess on an ass, singing verses and begging alms. One of them played the pipe, and the others, throwing their Phrygian caps on the ground, fell into furious agitation, cutting and wounding themselves in various parts of the body. They got liberal alms. At Rome they paraded about from door to door. In the great sacrifices of the goddess they tossed their heads with great rapidity, violently contorting their bodies and limbs, and dancing to the sound of drums and flutes. It is strange to notice a likeness to dervish practices. The Galli degenerated into dissolute vagabonds. In other festivals the sacrificants of the goddess, amid a confused noise of timbrels, pipes, and cymbals, howled as if mad, using the most obscene language and most indecent gestures. [Compare Sir W. Elliot's paper, which will appear in a subsequent number.]

It is as well to call attention to the Yuruks inhabiting the mountains of Western Asia Minor, whose ethnology is undetermined. They appear to be a separate people from the Turkomans, but have not been studied. The Chinganees, or gipsies, are sometimes called Yuruks in error. The Yuruks keep cattle in the hills and neighbouring plains, and also cut wood and burn charcoal, but are not smelters. The charcoal burning is deserving of notice. They are nominally Mahometans, but their exact creed is not known. They are not considered as Sunnite or orthodox by the Turks, but are called Kizzilbash, Redheads, or Heretics, a name applied to the Shiites, though the Yuruks are not supposed by the Turks to be Shiites like the Persians. They are reproached with various irregularities. They do not say the namaz or daily prayers, or frequent the mosques. They hold secret assemblies at the new moon in the hills, these assemblies being watched by sentinels to prevent intrusion. On account of these assemblies the Yuruks have claimed affinity with the Freemasons. The Yuruks speak Turkish of the Anatolian dialect.

If the Yuruks should be descendants of the hill tribes, their ceremonies may be representations of the ancient mysteries.

Some remarks were made by the President, Mr. Hydo Clarke, and Mr. Cull.

ORDINARY MEETING, FEBRUARY 9th, 1869.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, *President, in the Chair.*

Sir J. Lubbock exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Lucas, a beautiful gold torque recently discovered in an Irish peat moss, at a depth of four feet, in the County of Sligo. He then read the following paper :—

VI.—*On Stone Implements from the Cape.* By SIR J. LUBBOCK.

I HAVE the honour to exhibit some stone flakes, etc., which I have recently received from Mr. Bush and Mr. Langham Dale, H.M. Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. Dale, in his letter accompanying the specimens, says, "All of these have been found by myself or members of my family on the great flat which lies between Table and False Bays. The material of which they are made is brought to the localities where we find them upon or among the drift sand. I suppose that there were here and there on the flat native kraals or villages, and that the *débris* which we discover are the cast-away implements. The quantity of small chips and flakes seems to indicate these spots as the local armouries."

I have thought it desirable to bring these specimens before the Society, because, although the African races of man are almost all in a very barbarous state, so far as relates to social conditions, still a knowledge of rude metallurgy has been long and widely spread throughout Africa; and we know as yet scarcely anything about the stone implements which no doubt were once used in that Continent, as well as in other parts of the world. I venture on this point to speak with confidence, because I feel no doubt that man, whatever may have been his origin, would rapidly spread over all accessible regions of the earth's surface, while the recent discoveries in Europe seem conclusively to prove that the stone age was a period of very considerable duration.

The South African flakes, etc., are from one to five inches in length, of a coarse material, are rudely worked, and, as some of the specimens shew, they are made from pebbles of no great size. Some of them shew the original surface of the pebble.

Mr. Dale mentions that they were found in or on drift sand; and of this they bear evidence, having that peculiar glazed appearance presented by stones which have been rubbed by wind-blown sand. None of them present any trace of grinding. The majority are mere flakes; some, however, being re-

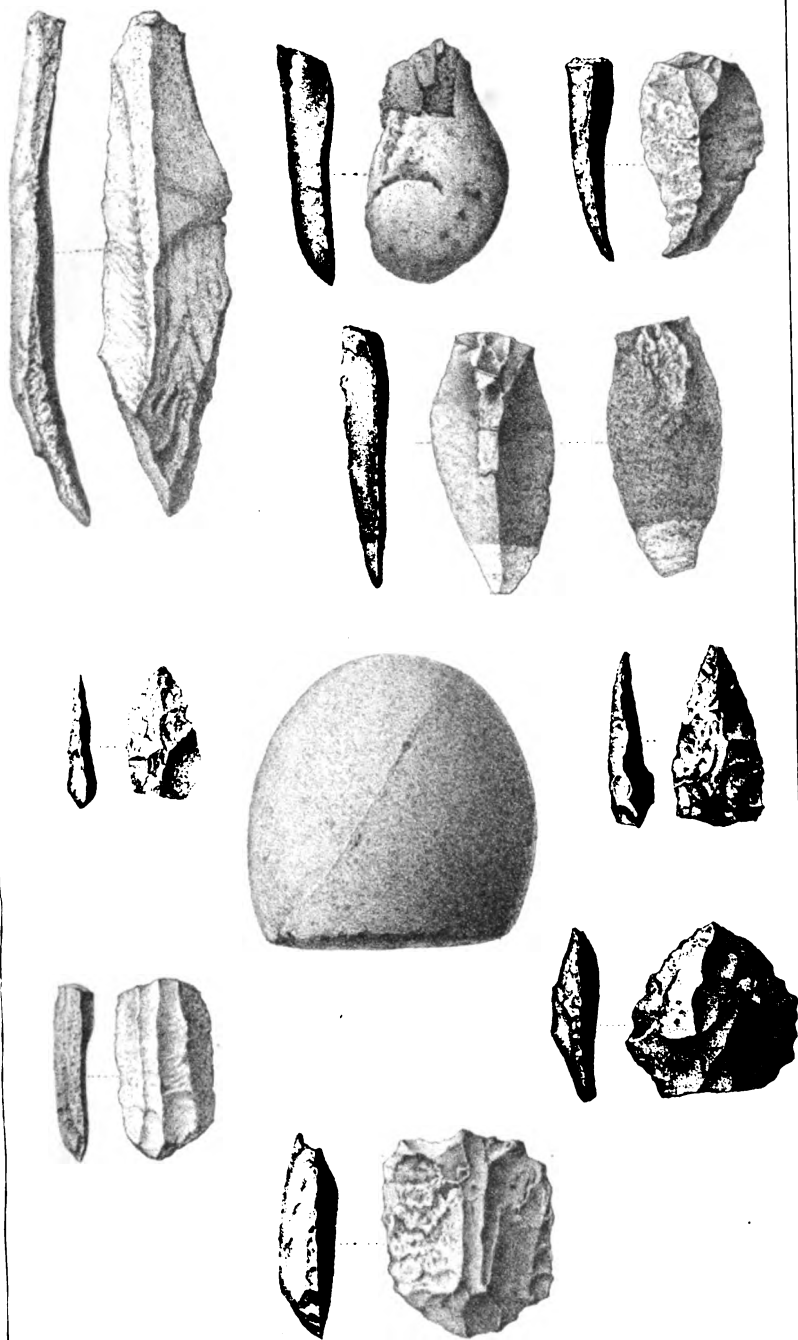
touched at the sides and point. One specimen has all the appearance of a "scraper"; the butt indeed is very rough, but the free end is worked up exactly like the ancient implements which are known under this name, and which are so abundant in Europe, or like the similar instruments used by the Esquimaux in cleaning skins. Several are more or less chipped along the sides, and brought to a point at one end. These are called "arrow-heads" by Mr. Dale; and they may certainly have served either as arrow-heads or javelin-heads; but they cannot be compared for beauty of finish or execution to the arrow-heads of Europe, America, or Japan.

The sling-stones are of the rough, polygonal, disk-like variety; and, though we may call them by this name for want of a better, we must, I think, do so with an admission of doubt. The collection does not include any good cores. The flakes, etc., seem, as already mentioned, to have been chipped from moderately-sized pebbles. There are, however, two large stones, partially worked; and I have brought for exhibition part of another, which, having been "flaked" all round, may be called a "core", though it is but a poor one.

I may also call attention to a short triangular very thick flake, with a regular point and a heavy butt, thus resembling one of the Lough Neagh forms, to which Mr. Evans has recently directed attention.

The South African flakes have the bulb of percussion well marked. In several specimens, however, the most convex portion is wanting. This has also been observed to be the case in some of the Yorkshire specimens, and it has been supposed that the most projecting portion of the bulb was purposely removed. This, however, was not the case: in proof of which, I exhibit two modern flakes shewing the same peculiarity, together with the nucleus from which they were struck; and, on looking at the surface from which each was detached, it will be seen that the missing portion of the bulb, though partially detached, is still adhering to the nucleus. It is evident, therefore, that the removal of the summit of the bulb is due to the nature of the material and the character of the fracture.

I take this opportunity of calling attention to the fact that, in one point, the modern flakes differ from all ancient ones which I have examined. If you look perpendicularly at the butt-end, you will see within the thickness of the flint a second circular fracture. I have not found anything similar in ancient flakes, nor in the obsidian flakes of Mexico. We know that the latter were obtained by pressure; and, as our modern gun-flint flakes are struck from the block, my first idea was, that in this distinction, we might see reason for concluding that the



Quartzite Implements from the Cape of Good Hope

1/2 size linear.

J. Jobbins

int flakes, like the Mexican ones, were obtained by

It must be admitted, however, that the modern workers whom I have consulted, think it would be impossible to obtain long flint flakes by pressure.

also brought for exhibition three stones of a different shape, which were sent to our vice-president, Mr. Busk, by Mr. C. S. Busk, and by him very kindly presented to the Society. Since the preceding notes were written. This collection contains a number of flakes closely resembling those forwarded to me, and, in addition, two ring-stones and several rubbing-stones, both of which were imperfect, were used to weight sticks used in digging up roots, etc. Rubbing-stones are more or less elongated stones, and the rubbing-slope, as would naturally happen, the stone being held in the hand.

The Society will see that all the stone objects yet received from the Cape indicate a condition of abject barbarism.

Remarks were made by the President, Professor Busk, and Mr. Fox.

Honorary Secretary read the following paper:—

-On Cromlechs and Megalithic Structures. By HODDER M. WESTROPP.

Now a generally accepted canon that there are common instincts implanted by Nature on all the varieties of the human race, which lead mankind in certain climates and at a certain stage of civilisation, to do the same thing in the same way, or at least so, even without teaching, or previous communication with those who have done so before. This has been remarkably confirmed in the analogous and almost identical forms of flint implements found all over the world; and also in the identity of ornamentation, such as the zig-zag, guilloche, &c., designed independently by races the most widely apart. Further confirmation of this are the analogous modes of sepulchre, almost identical in their forms in different parts of the world.

Man, in his early and rude stage will adopt the simplest mode of sepulchre suggested to him. The tumulus or mound of earth, the simplest and earliest form, is therefore found wide-spread among all peoples. As Sir John Lubbock says:—"In our islands they may be seen in almost every town; in the Orkneys, it is estimated that more than two thousand still remain; they are found all over Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to the Oural Mountains; in Asia, they are scattered over the great steppes, from the borders of Russia to the Pacific

Ocean, and from the plains of Siberia to those of Hindostan; in America, we are told that they are to be numbered by thousands and tens of thousands; nor are they wanting in Africa, where the Pyramids themselves exhibit the most magnificent development of the same idea: so that the whole world is studied with the burial places."

A further improvement on the simple mound we find among the Etruscans, who surrounded the base with a podium or supporting wall of masonry. Of this kind of tumulus or conical mound, examples occur in immense numbers in every necropolis of Etruria. We find the same form in the tumuli of Tantalus, near Smyrna, in the tomb of Alyattes at Sardis, in the Buddhist topes of India, and in Chinese tombs, which bear an extraordinary resemblance to the Etruscan. The transition, as the author of *Föthen* remarks, from this simple form to that of the square, angular pyramid was easy and natural: and the gradations through which the style passed from infancy to its mature enormity can be plainly traced at Sakkara, near Cairo.

In his endeavours to make a tomb in a more lasting and permanent form, a monument of large and massive stones suggests itself. Examples of such sepulchral structures composed of gigantic blocks of stone, so as to last through countless ages, and of almost identical forms, have been discovered in many countries, so remotely apart as to preclude all idea of intercommunication.

Cromlechs and such megalithic structures have almost as wide a range as tumuli. We need not mention those of our own islands as well known. The dolmens of Brittany present such gigantic proportions as to completely throw in the shade our cromlechs. In Denmark and Sweden they frequently occur. Mr. Dennis thus notices those he met at Saturnia, in Etruria, "In the three upright slabs, with their shelving, overlapping lid, we have the exact counterpart of Kit's Coty House and other like familiar antiquities of Britain; and the resemblance is not only in the *form* and in the unhewn masses, but even in the dimensions of the structures. There are notices of others in Spain, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands. They are found in several parts of India. In the central part of India, in the centre of an immense tract of cultivated waste called the Neermul Jungle, where no European ever penetrated, numbers of cromlechs have been found. The coast of Malabar also offers an example." Dr. Hooker has called attention to those among the Khasia people:—"Rude stones," he says, "of gigantic proportions are erected as monuments singly, and in rows, circles, or supporting one another like those of Stone Henge, which they resemble in dimensions and appearance." Some

iscovered in the Principality of Sorapoor, by Col. Taylor, and others have been described by Mr. R. Vellore in the Madras Presidency. Captain Sturt states that near Chittore, in North Arcot, he saw a large tract of ground covered with such monuments. In them were found sarcophagi, with the bones of the dead, and pottery.

We find evidence of their existence also. Dr. Cluver has given a notice of thirteen cromlechs which exist between Algiers and Sidi Ferruch, in all important connection with our Irish monuments of that name.

Christy discovered an extensive range of similar monuments near the sources of the Boumarmouk, near Constantine. Within an area of more than nine miles, on the hills as well as on the plains, the whole country around is covered with monuments of the so-called Celtic dolmens, demi-dolmens, cromlechs, menhirs, and standing stones; in a word, there exist there almost all the megalithic monuments known in Europe. Mr. Catherwood has also met with them in the Agency of Tunis. The three sites on which he found them were: Sidi-Boosi, to the north-east of Hydrah, and Lhuys. At the first place they were particularly numerous.

At the second place a drawing of some among the mountains of the Atlas, and they are said to be found on the steppes of

the banks of the Jordan, Captains Irby and Mangles observed very singular interesting and certainly very ancient monuments composed of rough stones resembling what is called the Druidical stones; and many have been lately discovered in the Agency of the Exploration Committee.

In the western part of Arabia, in Kaseem, Mr. Palgrave met with some singular structures, he says:—"We saw before us several large enormous boulders placed endways perpendicular to the soil, while some of them yet upheld similar masses of stone over their summit. They were arranged in a circular part, it would appear, of a large circle, and fragments lay rolled on the ground at a moderate distance from the number of those still upright was, to speak by the number, four or nine. Two, at about ten or twelve feet apart, and resembling huge gate posts, yet bore a large lintel, a long block laid across them." Pointing to the first of our companions affirmed that a second and third circle, also of gigantic dimensions, existed there. He remarks that there was little difference between the Agency of Kaseem and that of Somersetshire, except

that the one is in Arabia and the other, though the more perfect, in England.

Mr. Lamont, in his *Wild Life among the Pacific Islands*, describes a stone circle in one of the Penrhyn Islands. He reached, he says, "an open space of some hundred yards square. It was encircled by tall flat stones, some six feet in height, though generally much lower, but not more than a few inches in thickness, a sort of Stonehenge, in a small way. Through the open spaces I could observe several more stones of the same kind, some lying horizontally supported by others, not unlike the cromlechs of Ireland, but more regular in form, and evidently intended for tombs."

A writer in the *Builder* remarks that "while Dr. Hooker has been drawing public attention to a race who erected dolmens in India, Mr. Squiers has been photographing ancient dolmens in Peru."

That all these structures are places of burial has been proved to a certainty by the skeletons and other sepulchral remains found in them.

The sepulchral circle of Stonehenge is only a further development on a more extensive and grander scale of the rude cromlech and circle, as the pyramid is of the simple mound. That Stonehenge was a place of burial and not a temple is proved by analogy, as the stone circles of Khassia, Algiers, Penrhyn Island, are all sepulchral. Further, it is admitted by antiquarians that early and primitive races never erected temples. It is supposed they were, in many respects, like the American Indians; they recognised a great spirit, but had no representations of him, and had no temples. Temples argue an advanced civilisation. The Jews had no temple until the time of Solomon.

A striking feature in the comparison of the various accounts of these megalithic structures is, more than the analogy between them, the almost identity of form among them all.

Another feature which is very striking is the gigantic scale on which these structures were raised. It would appear as if nations in their earliest periods were more active, produced more wonderful works, and executed structures which outvie in rude magnitude the boldest efforts of modern genius; as instances we can mention, the circle of Stonehenge, the stone avenues of Carnac, and the Cyclopean galleries of Tirynthus. When we recollect that these were the first efforts of the human race, made without pattern, designed without exemplar, commenced and carried out without experience, they cannot but give us a high idea of the energy and skill of man in the earlier stage of his development. As Dr. Wilson observes, "there

seems to be an epoch in the early history of man, when what may be styled the megalithic era of art develops itself under the utmost variety of circumstances. It is one of the most characteristic features pertaining to the development of human thought in the earliest stages of constructive skill."

Judging from the analogies brought before us, the builders of these megalithic structures were in a very rude and barbarous phase of civilisation. Dr. Hooker informs us that the Khazias among whom these cromlechs are built even at the present day are a barbarous and savage people. He describes them as a race of a most bloodthirsty disposition, and who fight with bows and arrows. Human sacrifices and polyandry are said to be frequent among them, and their orgies are detestable. As among all rude races, some are tatooed. They are superstitious, but have no religion. Their method of removing the blocks for their dolmens and menhirs is by cutting grooves, along which fires are lighted, and into which, when heated, cold water is run, which causes the rock to fissure along the groove. The blocks are erected by dint of sheer brute force, the lever being the only aid.

Now we may very reasonably infer that the early Britons, Danes, and Irish who erected cromlechs, were in a similar and analogous phase, and adopted similar means for erecting their structures. We have on historic record that the Britons had attained but a low degree of civilisation at the time the Romans became acquainted with them; their clothing was skins, and they were in the habit of staining and tatooing their bodies. Cæsar, in speaking of the Britons of his age, says they stained themselves with woad, which makes them of a blue tinge, and gives them a more fearful appearance in battle. Every ten or twelve of them had their wives in common. They were much addicted to superstitious observances, and human sacrifices were frequent. The Celts of Brittany were in a similar rude and savage phase at the time of Cæsar, which is still said to prevail among the modern Britons, as their manners are characterised as wild and savage as their appearance.

The early Irish, according to Diodorus, were cannibals. Judging from the numbers of rude flint and stone implements, and the bones of wild animals in connection with them, found wide-spread all over Ireland, the primitive Irish must have been in a very rude and barbarous state, living entirely by the chase or by fishing.

Professor Nilsson has shown that the sepulchres of Denmark and Sweden, which were erected of large stones collected together by main force, are of the stone age, when the peoples of those countries were in a rude and uncivilised state. For, he

says, the earliest hunting implements of stone in every country are synchronous with the first appearance of the savage there, since he required at once the flesh of wild animals for food, their skin for clothing and water drinking.

That they were raised during the stone age receives additional confirmation from Sir John Lubbock's observation when noticing a pile of stone work in the island of Tahiti. "It is, perhaps, the most important monument which is known to have been constructed with *stone tools only*, and renders it the less unlikely that some of the large tumuli and other ancient monuments of Europe may belong to the stone age," and the Tahitians of that age, it is well known, were in a very barbarous state.

In India there is a tradition with regard to the cromlechs there "that the stones were put up by a people who lived in the country before Buddhism or Brahminism was introduced." Mr. Capper, in his work on India, says "there seems to be little doubt but that at one period the Deccan (the part of India where most cromlechs are found) was peopled by others than Hindoos. The aborigines are said to have been foresters and mountaineers, leading a wild and lawless life, but this must have been at a very remote period, for there is abundance of proof that an advanced state of civilisation prevailed previous to the time of the Greek notices of India."

Professor Huxley also confirms this, as he describes the inhabitants of the Deccan as a primitive people speaking languages (termed Dravidian) entirely different from those of the Aryan race, and differing also in their customs, having no Brahmins or castes, but eating flesh of all kinds, worshipping their ancestors, permitting polyandry, and not burning widows." He also observes that in these Non-Aryan districts are found remarkable monuments; raised masses of stone, one perched on another, forming chambers or tumuli, which contain human burnt bones, spear-heads, and the remains of food; and thus very closely resembling the cromlechs or dolmens found especially in Cornwall, Brittany, and throughout Western Europe. He further remarks the analogies existing between the Deccan people and the Australians, whom he characterises as savages of the very lowest condition.

We may, therefore, come to this conclusion in regard to these megalithic structures, that they are not peculiar to the Celtic, Scythian, or any other people, but are the result of an endeavour to secure a lasting and permanent place of sepulture among a people in a rude and primitive phase of civilisation, and that they were raised by men who were led by a natural instinct to build them in the simplest, and consequently the almost identical, form in all countries.

We have shown that they occur in countries—Syria, India, Africa, Peru, where neither Celts nor Scythians ever put their foot.

We shall now conclude by extracting the following eloquent passage from Mr. Dennis' *Cemeteries of Etruria*. "This form of sepulchre (the cromlech) can hardly be indicative of any race in particular. The structure is so rude and simple that it might have suggested itself to any people, and be naturally adopted in an early state of civilisation. It is the very arrangement the child makes use of in building his house of cards. This simplicity accounts for the wide diffusion of such monuments over the old world; for they are found in different climates and widely distant countries, from the mountains of Wales and Ireland to the deserts of Barbary, and from the western shore of the Iberian Peninsula to the steppes of Tartary and the eastern courts of Hindostan. They are found on mountains and in plains, on continents and in islands, on the sea coast and far inland, by the river and in the desert, solitary and grouped in multitudes. That in certain instances they may be of the same people in different countries is not to be gainsaid, but there is no necessity to seek for one particular race as the constructors of these monuments or even as the originators of the type."

The Honorary Secretary read the following paper:—

VIII.—Remarks on Mr. Hodder Westropp's Paper on Cromlechs. By Col. A. LANE FOX. With a Map of the World, shewing the Distribution of Megalithic Monuments.

MR. WESTROPP'S paper appears to me to be one of great interest as a basis for discussion, although I differ from him in some of his conclusions, which I think are hardly supported by the facts which he has adduced.

In order to illustrate Mr. Westropp's paper, and, at the same time, to explain my own views on the subject, I have shaded a skeleton Map of the World to shew the distribution of megalithic monuments, the materials for which I have taken, partly from Mr. Westropp's paper, and partly from other sources. In this map I have made some additions to the localities mentioned in the paper, which are necessary in order to shew the continuous distribution of these structures. Thus, for instance, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli and for some distance along the African coast to the eastward of that town, Barth discovered megalithic monuments resembling Stonehenge in character; he also observed stone circles as low down as the neighbourhood of Mourzouk: these connect the monu-

ments in Algiers with those occurring to the eastward in Palestine. They occur also in the Islands of Malta and Gozo. In the Canary Isles stones of this description are known to have been used by the natives in fighting duels, each combatant standing on a stone. They are found also on the north coast of Africa as far as Tangier and the Strait of Gibraltar.

Further eastward than Palestine, in the province of Fars in Persia, Sir William Ouseley saw a large monolith ten or eleven feet high, surrounded by a fence of large stones, called by the natives "Stone of the Fire Temple", and at Darab to the eastward of that province, stone circles have also been discovered. To the south of the Caspian Sea, between Tauris and Casbin, Chardin also noticed large stone circles in 1672. It is important that these Persian examples should not be omitted in tracing the distribution of megalithic monuments, because they serve as connecting links between Palestine and India, and lead to the inference that whenever this country, about which so little is now known, becomes more thoroughly explored, similar remains will be found continuously throughout that region, in all places where suitable materials for the purpose are to be had.

Sir Walter Elliot, at the last meeting of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology, told us that they occur all over Southern India, from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, and probably in Upper India also. Mr. Bruce Foote, at the same meeting, contributed an important fact to our knowledge of these monuments, tending to fix their period in the order of sequence by observing, that the *Laterite deposits* of Madras which he had explored, and in which he had discovered a number of quartzite implements of the drift type, was surmounted in many places by a superficial deposit, containing polished or ground stone implements, and with which were associated stone monuments of the class now under consideration. Finally, Colonel Forbes Leslie, in his important work on the *Early Races of Scotland*, mentions that stone circles occur in Ceylon surrounding the grave hills.

Between Ceylon and the stone circles mentioned in the paper as occurring in the Penrhyn Islands, there is a great gap in our present information respecting the distribution of these monuments; but I should be sorry to affirm that they do not occur in any of the Asiatic Islands. In the Fiji Islands, however, the missionary Williams gives an illustration of certain monoliths which are regarded as the abodes of a goddess, for whom food is prepared, and the origin of which is unknown. Our Assistant Secretary, Mr. J. S. Lamprey, also drew the attention of the International Congress at Norwich to the men-

tion made by T. H. Hood, in his notes of a Cruise in H.M.S. *Fawn*, of Stone Circles in Strong's Island, Paadsen, Easter Island, and Waihu, "All tradition of the origin of which is lost, and the natives regard them as the work of their God-like ancestors, who fished up the very islands from the bottom of the ocean." He also mentioned the occurrence of huge monoliths in Tinian in the Ladrone Islands. From these facts it appears quite possible that, as we know many funereal and other customs belonging to the American continent are found to occur in the Pacific Islands; so also there may be a chain of connection across the Pacific with those stone monuments, which, as we have heard in the paper, are now found to exist in Peru.

Turning again to Europe, it is important that the limits of the distribution of these monuments should be more clearly defined than the author has attempted to do in his paper. It will be seen, on reference to the map, that, commencing in the south-west of Europe, they are found in Andalucia, in a continuous line with those occurring on the north coast of Africa; also in the provinces of Alentijo and Beira, and a few in Estramadura, Traz os Montes, and Minho. In France they are found chiefly, if not exclusively, in the southern and western departments, in Aveyron, Cantal, Tarn, Tarn et Garonne, in Arrière, and in the neighbourhood of Perpignan, in Poitou and in Brittany, in the department of Eure et Loire, and in the neighbourhood of Paris. In England, Ireland, and Scotland, they are found abundantly, but chiefly on the western coasts. From thence they extend to Denmark and the upper provinces of Holland and Germany, the southern extremity of Sweden, and the eastern coast of the Baltic, including Esthonia, Livonia, and Kourland. To what extent this distribution may have been affected by the destruction of these monuments, during cultivation, in the central parts of France, England, and Germany, is a point that it may be difficult now to determine; but, making due allowance for the possibility of such having been the case, it remains sufficiently evident that they belong chiefly to the region of the sea coasts, and that they are entirely wanting in Finland, in Russia (with the exception of the Baltic coast), in northern Sweden and in Norway, in Germany, south of Berlin, in the central and eastern departments of France, and in Spain (with the exception of Andalucia).* Some few ex-

* The attention of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology was especially drawn to this coast-wise distribution of megalithic monuments, by M. Alexandre Bertrand, at its second session in 1867. See *Compte Rendu de la Deuxième Session*, Premier Livraison, p. 168. It is also worth considering how far this distribution in Denmark, Sweden, and

ceptions to this coastwise distribution have indeed been noticed, but they serve rather by their rarity to prove the rule. Professor Worsaae has noticed a few examples in Thuringia, M. de Saussure is reported to have found four in Switzerland, and M. de Mortillet has observed a stone circle near Cesto Calende, in Lombardy. Taking, therefore, a general view of the distribution of these monuments, and omitting, for the present, those mentioned as occurring in Peru and the Pacific, about which but little is known, we find them occupying a continuous zone or belt, having Ceylon for its south-eastern and Great Britain for its north-western extremities. Reference to the accompanying map will also show that on all sides, this zone is bounded and guided by well-marked physical features. Commencing with Ceylon and India, the eastern and northern boundary is defined by the Bay of Bengal, the Mountains of Assam, the Himalaya, with the great desert of Gobi beyond, the Hindu Koosh, and its continuation to the shores of the Caspian with the desert of Karsn to the north, the Caucasus, the Black Sea, the Balkan, the Alps, and the sea coast. On the south-west the zone is bounded by the Arabian and Red Seas as far as Egypt; and from thence as far as the Atlantic by the Great Desert of Sahara. So far, therefore, as our existing knowledge goes there is no great improbability in the supposition that these monuments, and the people who erected them, may have sprung up somewhere to the south of the great northern boundary of seas and mountains above mentioned; and that, prevented from passing northward by that barrier, (which there is reason to believe, in consequence of the greater extent of ice and glaciers in prehistoric times, may have offered a far greater obstacle to the spread of the population than it does at present;) they extended laterally. One branch, moved westward until it reached the shores of the Mediterranean, and then, becoming evidently a maritime people, coasted the southern shore, or both shores of that sea, and occupied the Mediterranean islands, until, having turned the western extremity of the Alps and attained the Atlantic, they coasted northwards, along the shores of the Atlantic, North Sea, and the Baltic, and ultimately arrived at the Gulf of Finland; while another branch, moving eastward, passed through Persia into Hindustan. This course, we know, throughout its greater extent, to have been the

Russia, may have been affected by changes in the relative position of land and water in ancient times. On the subject of the changes of surface affecting ethnography, see a paper by Mr. H. H. Howorth, in the seventh volume of the *Transactions* of the Ethnological Society, in which reasons are given for supposing that a great part of Northern Sweden, Finland, and Russia, were under water within the human era.

identical course which civilisation has followed during the historic period, commencing with our earliest knowledge of it in Egypt and in Chaldæa, and passing through Assyria, Greece, Rome, Spain, and France, into Great Britain; while another branch spread eastward through Persia into Hindustan. All the great tracts of the globe which are now believed to be devoid of megalithic monuments, north-eastern Europe, central and northern Asia, central and southern Africa, Australia, and the two continents of America, are the identical regions into which, up to the time of the middle ages, the light of civilisation had never penetrated. Is it therefore an unreasonable assumption that in prehistoric ages like causes may have produced like results, and that these megalithic monuments, resembling each other as closely as the institutions of civilised communities resemble each other now; and being spread over the same area along which those institutions are known to have spread; if they did not belong to a common people, may, like them, have sprang from a common source. Against this northward flow of early culture in Europe, it may perhaps be urged that the implements associated with those monuments in Britain, are of an earlier character than those which are found to be connected with them in the south of France, the implements of which country show a transition from the stone to the bronze age;* whilst the same class of monuments in Africa and in India are often associated with weapons of iron, thus indicating that the culture may have developed in an opposite direction to that which I have supposed. But on the other hand, the megalithic monuments of Denmark are also associated with evidence of a transition period, and it appears also very probable that the outskirts and furthestmost extremities of this region of early culture may have been in a less advanced condition than the more central parts, where the inhabitants, dwelling for a longer time in the same localities, would have had more time to develop their resources.

Ancient traditions connected with Stonehenge, with the Lia-fail now in the coronation chair at Westminster, and other megalithic monuments in England and Ireland, point to the coast of Spain and to Africa as the source from which they were derived; and there are many customs handed down from remote antiquity which may be traced all through the region in which these monuments occur. Amongst these the singular custom of hanging pieces of rag, or scraps of clothing, upon trees as offerings to obtain alleviation from sickness, may be

* Distribution des Dolmens dans le Département de l'Aveyron, par M. E. Cartailhac. Comptes rendus du Congrès d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques, Session de 1867.

mentioned as an instance in point. This custom prevails throughout Ireland, and is practised in Devonshire, Yorkshire, Scotland, and the Western Isles, in which countries it is usually associated with cairns or offerings of stones and with holy wells; Burton says that it extends throughout northern Africa, from west to east; Mungo Park mentions it in western Africa; Sir Samuel Baker speaks of it on the confines of Abyssinia, and says that the people who practised it were unable to assign a reason for doing so; Burton also found the same custom in Arabia during his pilgrimage to Mecca.* In Persia Sir William Ouseley saw a tree close to the large monolith above mentioned, covered with these rags, and he describes it as a practice appertaining to a religion long since proscribed in that country. In the Dekkan and in Ceylon Colonel Leslie says that the trees in the neighbourhood of wells may be seen covered with similar scraps of cotton; Dr. A. Campbell speaks of it as being practised by the Limboos near Darjeeling, in the Himalaya, where it is associated, as in Ireland, with large heaps of stones;† and Huc, in his travels, mentions it amongst the Tartars, the tree decorated with rags being planted in a heap of stones. It is impossible to believe that so singular a custom as this, invariably associated with cairns, megalithic monuments, holy wells, or some such early Pagan institutions, could have arisen independently in all these countries. Although it extends down the east coast of Africa as far as Zanzibar, I know of no country in which it is practised where it may not have been connected with the region under consideration.

With respect to the original uses of these monuments, I think that we ought not too readily to infer from the fact that interments have been found in connection with the great majority of them, that they were all erected as memorials of the dead. The scripture accounts show that they were put up for other purposes; the twelve stones at Gilgal were set up to represent the twelve tribes of Israel, and we know that Gilgal was used for a variety of purposes; Chardin, in his account of the stone circles he saw in Persia, mentions a tradition that they were used as places of assembly, each member of the council being seated on a stone; Homer, in his description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*, speaks of the elders sitting in the place of justice upon stones in a circle; Plot, in his account of the Rollrich stones in Oxfordshire, says that Olaus Wormius, Saxo Grammaticus, Meursius, and many other early historians, con-

* Burton, *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, vol. i, p. 227.

† Dr. A. Campbell, On the Tribes around Darjeeling. *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vol. vii, p. 149.

cur in stating that it was the practice of the ancient Danes to elect their kings in stone circles, each member of the council being seated on a stone; the tradition arising out of this custom, that these stones represent petrified giants, is widely spread in all countries where they occur, and Col. Forbes Leslie has shown that within the historic period, these circles were used in Scotland as places of justice. As we trace back human institutions to their sources, we find them constantly converging to a common stem; the priest becomes the law-giver, the commander, and the medicine-man, and where these several functions, or the semblance of them, centered in one individual, they were doubtless administered in one common place. Such places of public assembly for all the common wants of the community, I believe, the megalithic monuments in the earliest stages of society to have been. The practice of burying in the dwelling of the deceased has been alluded to by Professor Nilsson and Sir John Lubbock, as the probable origin of most of the earliest forms of sepulchre; the great chiefs were, no doubt, buried in the place of most honour, and hence the frequent association of these structures with the relics of the dead. Even to this day we continue to bury in our churches, but posterity would be in error if on this account they were to infer that all our churches were erected as memorials of the dead.

In conclusion, I would observe, that I think we have not as yet paid sufficient attention to distinguishing the numerous *varieties* of these and other vestiges of early people, and to investigating the geographical distribution of each separate variety.

The more we examine into the culture of the primitive inhabitants of the globe, the more we perceive it to have expanded and developed upon a plan analogous to that which has been observed in the development of species, and the more evident it becomes that the method of investigating these memorials should be the same systematic method which we employ for investigating the phenomena of the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

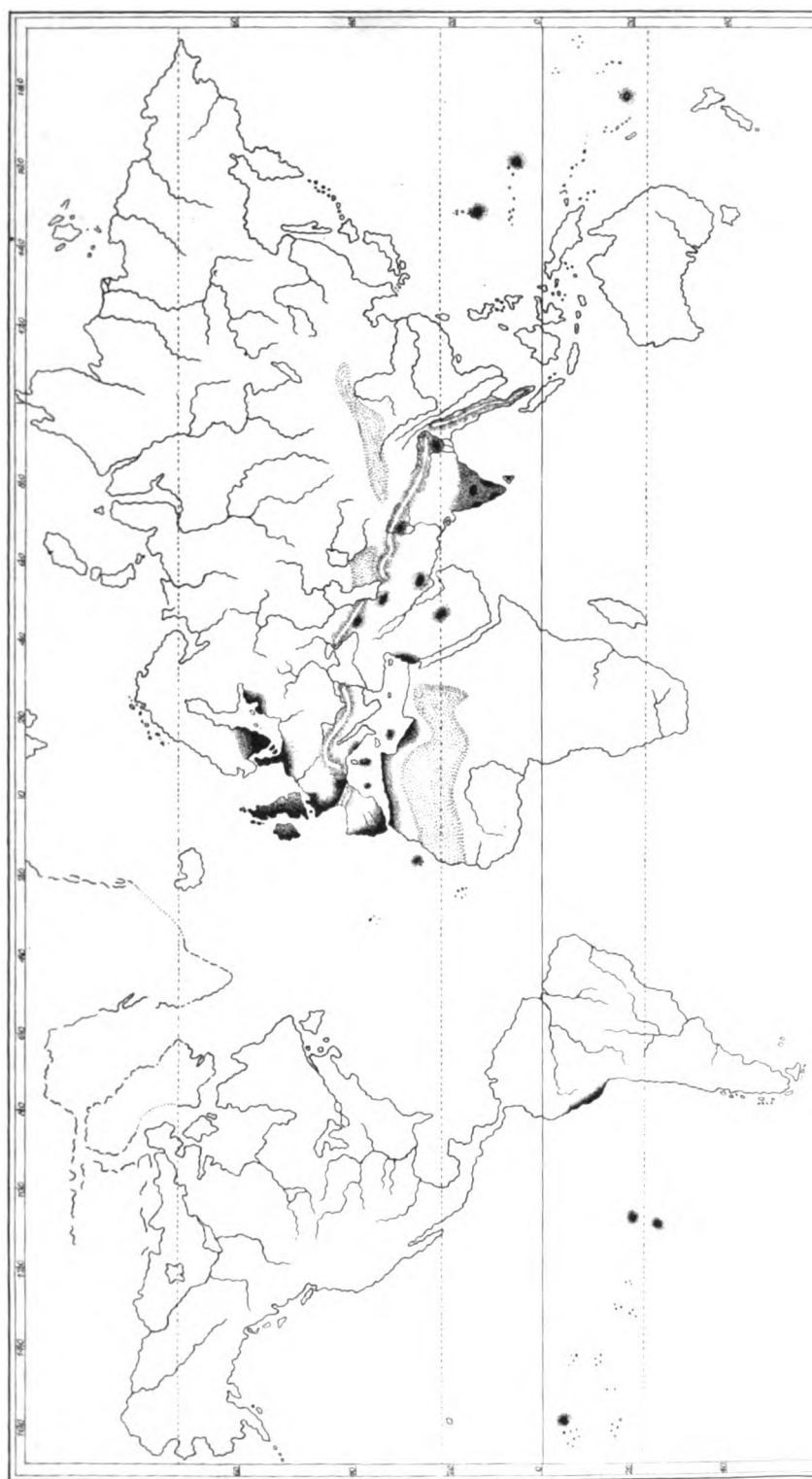
For example, we should derive but little knowledge from the bare assertion that the class of mammalia is very widely distributed over the surface of the earth, but by studying the several varieties of the mammalia, and noticing their geographical distribution, naturalists have come to a knowledge of the external causes which in particular localities have favoured the development of particular kinds, and by tracing back the relics of these varieties in geological order, they are by degrees arriving at the power of assigning to each variety its true position in the order of creation.

So, in like manner, by observing the distribution of the

several varieties of each class of the relics left to us by the aborigines of our species, we shall be enabled to see to what extent their variations are attributable to design, and, on the other hand, how far they were necessitated by the imperfect command the fabricators had over the constantly varying forms of nature. For it appears to be a law, applicable alike to all people in a low state of culture, whether ancient or modern, that being devoid of rule or measure, and the materials on which they worked being of innumerable different shapes, and requiring enormous labour to fashion them into form, no two products of a primitive people ever exactly resemble each other, but all present slight modifications of size and outline; and yet, notwithstanding this imperative necessity for change under which they labour, so persistently do they adhere to the same types, that any alteration of the forms of remote antiquity, or of the implements of savages, which is sufficient to denote, in however trivial a degree, novelty of design, is enough to mark an era in the development of their culture. As new ideas slowly spring up, and still more slowly receive acceptance, some of the numerous varieties of older forms become adapted, by a kind of natural selection, to newer uses, whilst at the same time, force of habit, and a spirit of conservatism, influence the retention of older types long after they have been superseded by new ones, so that the links of connection between older and newer forms are so continuous as to be almost imperceptible. Hence the importance of systematically classifying the varieties of pre-historic antiquity in the same manner that naturalists have classified their evidence of the varieties of species, in order that we may be enabled to trace out the channels through which progress has flowed in the gradual evolution of higher types. One of the greatest obstacles to the comprehensive study of these subjects is the absence of any recognised terminology; this is so great a defect, that there is hardly any relic of antiquity to which a definite and well-understood name can be attached, tending greatly to the confusion of ideas, and to impede the collection of fresh evidence.

I would venture to urge attention to this defect as one which it might be made a worthy object of this Society to remove. As the Society increases in vitality and in numbers, it ought not to remain a merely passive body, listening to papers, but should take an active part in the collection and systematisation of evidence. Including, as it does, amongst its members the names of nearly all those who are known to take a leading part in the study of man, this object ought not to be difficult of attainment, if for once in the history of anthropological science English ethnologists and anthropologists could be induced to put themselves in harness and pull together.

DISTRIBUTION OF MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS IN RELATION TO SOME OF THE CHIEF PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE GLOBE.



Time does not admit of my entering here into the details of the arrangement which I should propose. I have convinced myself that, owing to the causes above-mentioned, every scrap of evidence relating to the various subjects which fall within the province of the Society admits of being systematically classified.

If the project finds favour with the Society, I should propose that a classification committee should be appointed, the functions of which would be, in the first place, to determine a classification from the materials already recorded in published works, dividing each branch of evidence into classes, subclasses, varieties, and subvarieties; to letter and number each class and variety in such a manner as to enable it be briefly, yet accurately, expressed in maps. Having done this; to obtain fresh evidence of the distribution of each class and variety by means of the notes and queries already established in the *Quarterly Journal*; to rearrange the classification in accordance with the fresh evidence by this means obtained; to map out the distribution of the several varieties in such a manner as may be found most practicable. Finally, to report periodically to the Society, exhibiting the distribution maps which have been drawn up.

I feel convinced that some such arrangement as this would be the best means of enabling us to extricate ourselves from the empirical stage through which the science of man is at present struggling; and that it would lead us by degrees to what must be the ultimate object of this and all other allied societies, viz., a knowledge of the laws of nature which have influenced the growth and development of the human race.

A discussion followed, in which the President, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Busk, Dr. A. Campbell, and Col. Lane Fox took part.

ORDINARY MEETING, FEBRUARY 23rd, 1869.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The Assistant Secretary made the following communication on the part of Don Alfonso Steffens :—

IX.—On some Stone Implements from the Island of San Jose. By DON ALFONSO STEFFENS.

DON ALFONSO STEFFENS, a German merchant, who deals in pearls and precious stones, and a long time resident in Panama, is the owner of two or three islands in the Bay of Panama, which he purchased for the right of pearl fishing. During his

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inspections he made excursions into the interior of these islands, and, though not a scientific man himself, he wishes to help inquirers on scientific subjects. During one of these expeditions to the island of San Jose, he induced the natives to open a grave for him, of which there are a great number on a summit hidden by rank tropical vegetation; in the grave opened, they found the implements exhibited. He would have dug deeper in the grave, expecting to find beneath some other objects, when a lizard, bloated in form, and yet somewhat like a cameleon, of which the natives are very much afraid, appearing in a tree overhead, they immediately desisted, and could not be induced to dig another foot of soil.

The whole surface of the island was covered with broken pottery, and showed that it must have been at one time densely populated. His idea was, that the islands were populated before the main land northwards had any inhabitants, and by a superior race, and he formed this conclusion from the more elegant forms and designs of the pottery he found scattered about.

No mention was made of the form of the graves, or of the materials used in their construction. A portion of a skull and several teeth in a portion of the ramus were also found, but crumbled away on being touched. These he did not disturb. He purposes to visit the same place and collect everything, without being satisfied with his own estimate of their value, in the hope that whatever he forwards to England may be set in order when delivered to the Society.

Some remarks on these implements were made by Mr. Carter Blake, Sir John Lubbock, and Col. Lane Fox.

The Honorary Secretaries read a series of reports on customs connected with child-bearing amongst the natives of Australia and New Zealand, communicated by Joseph Hooker, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., of which the following is an abstract:—

1. *Is Child-bearing Assisted or Solitary?*

Assisted, invariably; formerly by men, who had the name and credit of *tolungas*, or doctors, and who, squatting in front of the female about to be confined, pressed his knees against her chest, gradually extending the pressure downwards until the child was born. At present females assist principally, acting in much the same manner. Native women are seldom, and only from extreme weakness, confined while lying down. Confinements in the open air are preferred, but it is believed from a superstitious feeling.—W. H. SEARANKE.

On the approach of labour, the woman was placed in a house apart from the *kainga* (village), where she was watched until the first efforts to give birth, and then assistance was rendered by a person applying his or her knees to the stomach of the woman in labour, holding her

with his hands round the waist, the woman remaining in a sitting posture with the body erect.—R. PARRIS, New Plymouth.

According to Maori custom the pains of child-birth were invariably endured in solitude ; all assistance being declined, even to the severing of the umbilical cord and removal of the placenta. The position assumed during labour was always a kneeling one. Though, through intercourse with Europeans assistance is now sometimes brought in, the feeling is against it.—EDW. M. WILLIAMS, Waimate.

Child-bearing is solitary. The woman, feeling that her time is at hand, takes a mat, and goes into the bush by herself, but warns a female companion to be within hail in case of need.—R. MARSTON.

Child-bearing is assisted generally by the husband, or by a female relative.—H. B. WHITE, Mongonui.

It is always assisted.—*

The native woman, often laboriously employed until the very moment she feels the pains of labour, retires, as a rule, unattended, and strives to give birth without assistance. If help be needed, it is generally given by near female relatives, or by the husband. The woman generally kneels down on a *tapan* (flax mat), with her knees about a foot apart, and, inclining her body forward, grasps any hard substance at hand, or, if attended, employs her companion's knees to press against the upper part of her abdomen.—**

2. *Is the Umbilical Cord cut and tied as amongst Europeans; and, if so, is it a Habit of Modern Introduction, and how was the severing of the Connection between Mother and Infant previously effected?*

At present the umbilical cord is always cut, being previously tied with flax prepared for the purpose—W. N. SEARANKE.

The umbilical cord was usually tied first with a string of *muka* (dressed flax), and then severed with a sharp edged stone, before they had knives, the cord being laid upon a piece of wood.—R. PARRIS, New Plymouth.

Tyeing and cutting the umbilical cord was always practised among the natives, and is not of modern introduction ; the instrument used being a sharp shell, previously selected and set apart for the purpose, and afterwards carefully preserved.—EDWARD M. WILLIAMS, Waimate.

The cord is cut and tied, but usually left about one foot in length. This is an old custom ; a *tukua* (obsidian) was used to sever the cord, and is still preferred to a knife or scissors.—R. MARSTON.

The umbilical cord was cut with a *pipi* shell, but not tied ; of late years many use scissors, and tie like Europeans.—H. B. WHITE, Mongonui.

The umbilical cord is always cut and tied as among Europeans, and this practice is not of modern introduction.—*

After delivery, many tie the funis once about three inches from the body of the infant with a string of *mata* (scraped flax), cut it close to the ligature with a kutai shell, and sprinkle or dust the end with finely powdered charcoal. Some make no ligature, but rub it with

* ** We have not received the names of these contributors.—SUB-EDITOR.

ashes and dust it with the charcoal ; and a few, I have heard, to use a sailor's phrase, take an overhand knot in the severed cord.—* *

3. *What is the Duration of Labour?*

Not exceeding two hours generally, and birth easy. There are rare exceptional cases of difficult births, sometimes extending over two days.—W. N. SEARANKE.

The duration of labour varies from a few hours to five or even six days, as with Europeans.—R. PARRIS, New Plymouth.

Although some cases of lingering parturition are known to have occurred, as a rule the duration of labour is short, and the prostration of strength but trifling. Death during child-birth is of rare occurrence. Of two instances I can speak from personal knowledge. The first was that of a woman who, being taken in labour while at work in a field, retired to a short distance alone, gave birth to the child, and in two hours afterwards was again at work. In the other case, while on a journey, coming up to several natives sitting by the road side, I was surprised to learn that they were waiting for a woman of their party who, at a little distance from them, had shortly before given birth to a child, and was then recruiting her strength preparatory to continuing the journey. I remained with them about an hour, and as I left saw this woman proceed on foot with the rest of the party, carrying the newly-born infant herself.—EDW. M. WILLIAMS, Waimate.

The labour is usually quick, anything above six hours from the first pain would be considered long. In protracted labour two women, if procurable, assist ; the three lie down, the woman in labour in the middle ; the one behind places her knee against the small of the back ; the one lying in front waits the arrival of a pain, and then pushes with her knee against the stomach of the patient.—R. MARSTON.

From one to two days.—H. B. WHITE, Mongonui.

The duration of labour is generally short, from half an hour to three hours. There have been instances of protracted labour, but they are the exceptions to the rule.—*

The time generally occupied from the beginning of pains to delivery of the child and expulsion of placenta varies from one to four hours, cases of twelve hours' duration being, I may say, exceedingly rare.—* *

4. *Are there any Peculiarities in the Treatment of Newly-born Infants?*

No. The child is now usually washed with warm water immediately after birth, which was not always the case formerly.—W. N. SEARANKE.

The newly-born infant was washed with water, and the gummy substance in flax (*rito*), after which it was folded in the leaves of the Patete, Raurekan, or Mouku, in sufficient quantity to produce respiration, which when the leaves had absorbed, and the skin had become dry, the child was taken out of the leaves.—R. PARRIS, New Plymouth.

I am not aware of any peculiarities in the treatment of infants beyond an occasional flattening of the nose, exercising and stretching the fingers, toes, and limbs, repeating at the same time some mummeries said to be a prayer to the *Alua* (God) that the infant may grow up strong and handsome.—EDW. M. WILLIAMS, Wainate.

Infants are merely wiped, not washed, until the navel string drops off. When this has occurred, a week after birth, the child is taken to a priest (*tolunga*), who waves a portion of cooked food round the infant's head; the food is then buried. In this district the first food supplied to the mother is the water in which *pipis* have been cooked; in default of this article, boiled sowthistle is used as a substitute. Warm, both for fomentation and used internally, it is had recourse to when the after-birth does not come away naturally.—R. MARSTON.

The child is simply washed and placed with the mother as soon as possible.—H. B. WHITE, Mongonui.

No.—*

Preternatural labours are rare occurrences; four which I have heard of being fatal to the mothers; and, as you are well acquainted with the offspring of these unfortunate women, it may not be out of place to mention that one is the strong and healthy young half-cast, William Stannanay, reared on goat's milk, while the other equally robust is Paora ta Nyonga's youngest son, fed in infancy upon mashed kinnara. I find that in cases of this kind the fathers have invariably striven to save the child regardless of the wife. This, however, I can hardly believe from examination of the crania, philoprogenitiveness being very largely developed. Abortions are not uncommon. I know a woman in Hokiangā, young and apparently healthy, who had ten in the course of eight years. The cessation of the catamenia about the age of forty, though sometimes earlier.—**

5. *Can any Traces be derived from the Legends or Superstitions of the Natives as to Rites, Observations, or Ceremonies Connected with Child-bearing.*

In former times, women of rank, or women living with men of rank, were in particular instances not allowed to sleep with their husbands for one month after the birth, and frequently for two months previous, during which time they were carefully separated from other natives. Living in a sacred house, and not allowed to cook or even touch food with their hands, they were in charge of one or more *tolungas*, who constantly prayed over them. For a month or two afterwards the mother and child were kept isolated, and fed by a *tolunga*. The ceremonies were carried out to a much greater extent when the child was a boy.—W. N. SEARANKE.

The superstitions connected with child-bearing are numerous. When a woman had prolonged labour she was believed to have been guilty of some offence, such as having cursed her *ariki* (the head of her family), or having disregarded a *Tapu*, or having been guilty of aultery. She would be interrogated as to her guilt, and if she confessed to one of them, which was usually the case, they would go and

gather herbs from the sacred grounds of her forefathers, and after roasting them on a fire, they would put them on the woman's head, and their *tohunga* (seer) would perform incantations during the time of labour.—R. PARRIS, New Plymouth.

In accordance with Maori superstition in connexion with child-bearing, the placenta on being removed was buried, and a tree planted over the spot. If the infant was a boy, and likely to become a person of note, this spot would in due time be pointed out to him, and ever afterwards be remembered, to be referred to or not as occasion might require. Instances have been known of territorial right being claimed in consequence of the placenta and umbilical cord having been buried in the vicinity, the tree being pointed to as evidence.

After the birth of a child, the mother was considered *tapu* (sacred) until the cord detached itself from the infant, when the ceremony of baptism took place. The infant, on being presented to the *tohunga* (the priest), was by him sprinkled with water and dedicated to *whiro* (the devil), who was invoked to instil bravery into its heart, with anger, passion, and every evil propensity of human nature. The cord which had been removed from the infant was then deposited in the shell with which it had been cut, and taken to a stream and placed upon the water. If the shell floated with its freight, the child was destined to enjoy a long and prosperous life, but if on the contrary it sank, a premature death, or at least some dire calamity, was predicted and looked forward to.—EDWARD M. WILLIAMS, Waimate.

When the umbilical cord heals, about the eighth or ninth day, the relatives assemble. The father is not admitted to this assembly, which takes place in the *karaha*. The child is held by the mother over a karamu bush, and she prays to the *litua* that her child may be a strong and gallant man, or a fair and industrious woman, as the case may be. The head chief is then requested to name the child, and preparations on a large scale are made for a feast. At the time appointed, the chief of the greatest rank takes the child in his arms, and after swallowing twice of the food presented to him, names the child. The other chiefs according to rank do the same.—H. B. WHITE, Mongonui.

The only ceremony, if it can be so called, connected with child-bearing, is the burial of a portion of the umbilical cord at the foot of some stone or post, to show the claim of the child to certain land.—*

The newly-born infant in the cold season is very often at once wrapped up in its mother's garments, there to remain for weeks without any ablution, perhaps also doomed to pass the greater part of the winter in a filthy crowded place (!) closed up to all access of free air. Here in a horribly choky and miserable hut have I often seen all the occupants partake of those fetid dishes Kaanga, Kopiro, and Katero, while the mother from her damp steaming clothes would unfold, and assist to the same foul mess her little infant. The summer-born child, on the other hand, is in most instances immediately immersed in a stream of cold water, and its mouth and nostrils cleansed of any adhering mucus, the mother afterwards rubbing it briskly with the

palms of her hands along the back and limbs to restore warmth. This early baptism is called *toto*. A roll of *muka* is now tied pretty tightly to the infant's knees, as the natives say, to give the child straight limbs, and its arms and limbs daily stroked down with some degree of pressure, and its hands and fingers bent backwards. The nose also undergoes this same stroking process, a *simæ nara puella* being the one which in Maori estimation was in possession of a feature indispensable to the perfection of female beauty. I say *was*, because this peculiar taste seems to have undergone modification in the present generation. The woman at times, however, without regard to season, especially when the labour is attended with hæmorrhage, after the expulsion of the placenta, plunges herself and child into cold water, to promote the contraction of the womb, and perform the above-mentioned *toto*. In cases of asphyxia, vitality is occasionally established by mother and child before separation being both literally steamed over a *hangi* (native oven.) The child is weaned when about two years old, sometimes later, though long before this it has been gradually accustomed to the change of food. In regard to ceremonies now long laid aside and nearly forgotten, the above-mentioned *toto* may be called a first (?) baptism, the mother while rubbing the child merely muttering any wish (in regard to the child) foremost in her mind. Next came the *iriiri* or *puipui* (burial of the separated cord). The time when the slough of the funis separates from the infant's body (generally three days after birth) used to be considered of great importance, as being the ultimate affair in connection with the birth, the child being now first considered a distinct being. The mother used to take the separated part to the foot of some out-of-the-way tree—generally a young *ti* (cabbage tree), or a flax bush, and after having buried it there, would exclaim in a loud and distinct voice, such exhortation as, "*Mahi kai mau tomyaengal*," "*Whatu kakahu mou tomyaengal*," or, if a boy, "*Mau patu mau tomyaengal*," or "*Whakatuhiua, koe tomyaengal*," or "*Karo patu ki tae notu*." If these exhortations were not clearly and distinctly pronounced, the child might become indolent, or useless through sickness or otherwise. If the separated part were lost, it was an ill omen of the worst kind, the child would not be expected to live long. If the tree or bush at the roots of which the slough was buried showed signs of decay or died, the results would be similar to the child. Before the *iriiri*, the child had, as a rule, been named by either of the parents, or perhaps by some mere relatives. The mere giving it a name (*hua*), was, however, invariably done, I believe, without any prescribed form of ceremony. At the *iringa*, a feast was usually prepared, rather remarkable for the nice distinctions observed relative to the different *kangis* (ovens), generally three or sometimes five in number. The food of the first was only partaken of by near relatives of the wife, the second was allotted to the members of the husband's family, the third again was given to relatives more remote, and so on, strangers only participating of the contents of the last. The child, if a girl, had now passed the ordeal of ceremonies; not so the boy. There was an anabaptism, or rebaptization,

called *tohi*, to take place about, or perhaps before, the age of puberty. At this performance, a *tohunga* officiates; he takes the boy away to some secluded *tapu* spring, and after having dipped a small branch in the spring, sprinkles him about the head and shoulders, invoking his (the *tohunga*'s) tutelary spirit, or devil if you will, to inspire the lad with health, strength, and respect (*mana*) necessary for martial toils and command, or ambitious ardour to revenge his slain relatives. The water itself was often also believed to have properties nearly analogous to the waters of the Styx, besides being a preservative against witchcraft, etc. A *tohi'd* boy seldom or never worked or carried (*pikau*) anything on his back, and had a prodigious number of privileges. There is a song relative to the wonderful effects of the *tohi* upon a certain *Manaia*, which commences,

Ko Manaia ko te tama i tohia

Ki te tohi raukino.—* *

Extract from W. Colenso's work "On the Maori Races of New Zealand."

At the birth of a child, especially of the first-born, of a couple of high rank, there was quite as much rejoicing as in more civilised countries. The maternal aunt or maternal grandmother of the infant was generally present, and ruled on such occasions; if not, then the paternal grandmother took her place. Sometimes the birth of a daughter was preferred to that of a son for political reasons. Of course, the spot where the child was born (if in fine weather in the open air) everything touched or used, and all who had anything to do at the birth, were strictly tabooed (*tapu*), under customary restraint, or "legally unclean," to sit apart for the time from every ordinary matter. The umbilical cord was tied with scraped flax, which sometimes slipping caused a protuberant navel, and not unfrequently hernia, which latter, however, disappeared at adult age. The natives have been charged with compressing the infant's nose, to flatten it; and while this has been commonly denied, it is evident that the nose salutations (*hongis*, nose-rubbing) it was continually receiving from its mother and relatives, must have had a great tendency that way; besides flat noses were always admired. Soon after its birth they commenced rubbing down its knee-joints, in order to reduce the inner part of the joint, and so make them "handsome." For this purpose the infant was placed face downwards by its grandmother, or by one of the elder women, on her closed legs, and its little legs and knees rubbed downwards with pretty much squeezing of the inner knee; this operation was daily, or oftener, performed during several weeks. Female infants had the first joint of their thumb half disjoined, or bent considerably outwards, to enable the women the better to hold, scrape, weave, and plait flax. At an early period the little ears of the infant were bored with a sharp fragment of stone, or bit of obsidian; an operation generally performed by its mother.

With Regard to Aboriginal Women and their Parturition.

When a woman finds herself upon the point of becoming a mother, she generally (accompanied by a friend) withdraws from the encamp-

ment to some quiet sequestered spot. When she brings forth her young, the umbilical cord is severed at once, and the end secured by a ligature; the child is usually rubbed dry (not washed) with some old piece of opossum rug, or blanket; by the time that operation is completed the mother has become strong enough to get up, when she walks back to the camp with her squalling progeny quite unconcerned as though nothing singular had occurred. As far as my knowledge goes, both by observation and hearsay, twin children have only been born once, and they were by an European father; the mother died, however, and both the children also. This is the only instance I ever knew or heard of wherein an aboriginal woman had the slightest difficulty in child-bearing: this woman, I may add, was of much less stature (though perfectly symmetrical) than any fully-developed female I ever saw. These remarks, of course, merely apply to the aborigines inhabiting the Valley of the Lower Murray; I have not had opportunities of studying closely the habits and customs of those dwelling in other portions of the colony.

A discussion followed, in which the President, Mr. Hyde Clarke, Mr. Dunkin, Dr. Camps, and Mr. Black took part.

Mr. Acheson then made the following remarks upon some remarkable stones resembling a cromlech in Australia:—

X.—On a Pseudo Cromlech on Mount Alexander, Australia. By Mr. ACHESON.

NEAR the summit of Mount Alexander, about seventy miles in a north-easterly direction from Melbourne, Victoria, there are some groups of granite boulders presenting fantastic positions, the most remarkable of which is represented by a drawing I have deposited in the Society's collection. This group consists of one immense covering stone of about twenty-five tons weight, resting upon a number of smaller boulders, and forming a cavity or chamber within; the whole presents an exact representation of a cromlech of great dimensions, the supporting stones being partly rounded and partly split.

Mount Alexander is the highest point of the associated ranges, and is of granitic formation.

Dr. A. Campbell made a statement to the Society relating to some remains of boulders, etc., upon Marldon Island in the Pacific, at present uninhabited, and which he said was about to be visited by Mr. Bowen, a guano merchant, and he asked for suggestions for Mr. Bowen from the Society.

Some remarks on this subject were made by the President.

The Hon. Secretary then read the following paper by Mr. Layland:—

XI.—The Cave Cannibals of South Africa. By MR. LAYLAND.

AMONGST the many interesting objects of the Transgariep country are the celebrated Cannibal Caverns, the largest of which is situated amongst the mountains beyond Thaba Bosigo. A visit to this cavern will well repay the traveller for the break-neck journey that he is obliged to take before reaching it ; and after he has spent an hour or two in the cavern and its vicinity, he will, I imagine, return a wiser and a sadder man ; for such were the feelings that I brought away with me after paying it a visit.

We left Thaba Bosigo (the residence of the old chief Moshesh) in the morning, and after passing that mountain, we travelled up a steep and narrow valley, and then along the Berea heights, until we reached the old deserted mission station Cana, where, having obtained the necessary guides amongst the natives of this place, we started for the Cannibal Cavern, which was about two miles distant. Upon our arrival at the mountain above the cavern, we left our horses in charge of a native, and descended a steep and rugged footpath (or rather I should have said, a *hand-and-foot-path*, for the hands have quite as much to do in travelling this precipitous path as the feet), and by dint of holding on to tufts of grass, shrubs, projecting rocks, etc., etc., and by slipping, sliding, and scrambling, we at length arrived upon a grassy ledge in the face of the cliff, where we could stand without the necessity of holding on. On turning to the right of this ledge the scene opened out in all its grandeur ; and certainly, in all my life and wanderings, I have never beheld a more savage looking place. The cavern is formed by the overhanging cliff, and its entrance, a long rugged natural arch, extends along the whole face of the cavern, or nearly so, which is in length about one hundred and thirty yards, and its breadth about one hundred. The roof of this place, which is lofty and arched, is blackened with the smoke and soot of the fires of the savages who formerly inhabited it, and its floor, strewn with the remains of what they had left there, consisted of heaps of human bones piled up together or scattered about at random in the cavern, and from thence, down the sloping face of the rock, as far as the eye could reach, the clefts and small level spots were white with the bones and skulls of human beings ; skulls especially were very numerous, and consisted chiefly of those of children and young persons. These remains told too true a tale of the purpose for which they had been used, for they were hacked and cut to pieces with what appeared to have been either blunt axes or sharpened stones ; the marrow-bones were split into small

pieces, the rounded joints alone being left unbroken. Only a very few of these bones were charred by fire, showing that the prevailing taste had been for boiled rather than roast meat.

You may guess the feelings with which I wandered about this gloomy sepulchre and examined its various places of interest. One spot was pointed out to me, with rough irregular steps, leading up into the interior of the cavern to a gloomy-looking natural gallery, and in this place, I was informed, were stowed away the unfortunate victims not required for immediate consumption. From this place it was impossible to escape without passing through the middle of the cavern, which they could not do without being detected.

Horrible as all this must appear, there might be some excuse made for savages, driven by famine to extreme hunger, for capturing and devouring their enemies; but with these people it was totally different, for they were inhabiting a fine agricultural tract of country, which also abounded in game; but, notwithstanding all this, they were not contented with hunting and feeding upon their enemies, but preyed much upon each other also, for many of their captures were made from amongst the people of their own tribe, and even worse than this, in times of scarcity, many of their own wives and children became the victims of this horrible practice. If a wife proved lazy, or quarrelsome, she was speedily disposed of, or a crying baby would in like manner be silenced, and any member of the community showing signs of sickness or bodily infirmity would not be allowed to linger or to fall off in condition. Such were the horrible practices of this degraded people, and, although it is now commonly reported that they have for many years entirely given up this diabolical way of living, I saw, while at the cavern, unmistakeable evidence that the custom has not been altogether abandoned, for amongst the numerous bones were a few that appeared very recent; they were apparently those of a tall, bony individual, with a skull as hard as bronze; in the joints of these bones the marrow and fatty substances were still evident, showing but too plainly that not many months had elapsed since he had met his fate.

This cavern is one of the largest in the country, and from all accounts formed one of the head-quarter establishments of the cannibals; but the whole country, from the Moluta to the Caledon, including a part of the Putesana River, was, about thirty years ago, inhabited by cannibals, who were the terror of the surrounding tribes.

Their mode of living was to send out hunting parties, who would conceal themselves amongst the rocks and bushes, and

lie in ambush near roads, drifts, gardens, or watering places, for the purpose of surprising and capturing women and children, or travellers, or boys in search of lost cattle, etc.

There are still a good many of the old cannibals in existence. On the day that we visited the cavern, I was introduced to one of them, who is now living not very far from his former dwelling-place. He is a man of about sixty years of age, and (not to speak from prejudice) one of the most God-lost looking ruffians that I have ever beheld in all my life. There is one little episode connected with his life that I may as well relate. In former days, when he was a young man, and residing in the cavern, he captured, during one of his hunting expeditions, three young women, and from these he selected the best looking as a partner for life—the other two went to stock the larder. This union, notwithstanding the strange circumstances attending it, proved to be a happy one, the lady soon reconciling herself to her new mode of living, and settling quietly down in the cavern, where I was shown the corner which she and her husband formerly occupied; and her son, a fine strapping youth, brought us some milk on the day on which we visited the caverns. The old man's name is Rankutseng,* and that of his wife Mategyeni.

Of the vegetation of the cavern and its vicinity, I have but little to say. There was nothing remarkable about it; a few scattered ferns of the commonest kinds grew here and there in the crevices of its roof, and outside of the cavern, growing in the broken skull of a child, which was partly filled with earth and served it as a flower-pot, was a little bulb (one of the *Asphodelaciæ*), which I brought away with me as a souvenir of the cavern and its sad associations.

I also visited, in company with some friends, several of the cannibal caverns near the sources of the Caledon River. Some of these are very fine large caverns, though not so extensive as the one that I have just described. These Caledon River caverns are still inhabited, though no longer by cannibals, as the people have taken to other modes of procuring a livelihood.

At one of these caverns we met with an old savage, who told us that he had formerly been at the cooking of about thirty

* This is probably *Rakotsuane*, whom Arbousset and Dumas mention as the principal chief of the cannibal tribe called *Makhalla*, tributaries to Moshesh. According to Arbousset's original account (*Relation*, p. 117), *Rakotsuane* had four kraals under him, whilst the translation (*Narrative*, p. 58) makes him govern twenty-five or twenty-six kraals, the most considerable of which was *Sefika*.

people, when cannibalism was still in vogue, and he seemed, like the "Last Minstrel," greatly to regret that

Old times were changed,
Old manners gone ;

and that

The bigots of this iron time
Had called his *harmless* life a crime.

for he appeared to think that the objections raised to their former mode of living were unreasonable and uncalled for. This old savage had a "devilled kidney" or "boiled missionary" look about him.

While we were at this place we heard rather a curious anecdote ; it is as follows :—

Many years ago, during one of the raids made by the cannibals, several individuals were captured and brought into the cavern, and amongst them was a young girl of great personal attractions. After a great deal of discussion on the part of the savages, her life was spared, and she became the wife of one of the cannibals. After some time had elapsed, the father of this girl received information that she was still alive, but detained in the cavern ; upon hearing which, he sought the aid of one of the missionaries residing in those regions, and together they proceeded to the cavern, where they made the necessary arrangements for the girl's return to her home, the father paying six oxen as a ransom for his daughter. But she had not been very long at home before she again disappeared, and upon inquiry being made, it was found that she had, of her own free will, returned to her friends in the cavern ; strange to say, preferring their mode of living to that of her father, who was not a cannibal.

There is another anecdote told of these people, which I will also relate, as it serves to illustrate their manners and customs, and to show how lightly they regarded human life :—

In former times, when lions were plentiful in these regions, they would occasionally (like the inhabitants of the caverns) choose the flesh of human game in preference to that of wild animals, becoming exceedingly troublesome in their nightly ravages to the inhabitants of the caverns, seizing and devouring many of them. To rid themselves of the lions, these people constructed stone-traps, and (shocking to relate) these stone-traps were baited with young children, whose sad wailings attracted the lions to the spot, when they would be taken in the snare, and the life of the child sacrificed. There is an old woman living near Thaba Bosigo who told me that she had, in the days of her childhood, been the bait of a lion-trap ; fortunately for her the lions did not enter the trap in which

she was placed, or she would not have been saved to tell the tale.

The inhabitants of these caverns, who were formerly cannibals, constitute a part of Moshesh's tribe, which has been made up of the remnants of various aboriginal nations. The old chief, I have heard, did all in his power to suppress and do away with cannibalism amongst his people, and his endeavours were at length crowned with success, for they have, almost without exception, ceased to practise this inhuman custom, and have taken to other and more civilised modes of obtaining a livelihood. They are now not only stock-breeders as well as stock-lifters, but they are also tillers of the soil.

A discussion followed, in which the President and Mr. Carter Blake took part.

REVIEWS.

CAPTAIN FRYER'S *Paper in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*.

THE Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta has of late years paid much attention to Indian ethnology. The subject has occupied much space in its journals; and at the request of the Society, the Government has directed its officers to compile an account of the races inhabiting each district. The Society also recommended to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to take steps for obtaining particulars regarding the languages and other traits of the Aryan tribes in the higher mountains to the north, and a portion of the result of the inquiries made have already appeared in the shape of Dr. Leitner's valuable publication. It is hoped that at no distant period an exhibition of living specimens of the various human races of India, and especially of the curious aboriginal tribes, may take place at Calcutta, and that some small portion of that attention which has been hitherto exclusively devoted to cattle may now be given to human beings.

The Royal Asiatic Society of London has also devoted considerable attention to these subjects. In one of the latest volumes of the *Journal* (vol. iii, part 2 of 1868) are two articles of interest. In one, Captain Fryer, of the Madras Staff Corps, describes the aborigines of the hills and forests of the extreme south of the Peninsula—the remoter parts of Travancore and Cochin—in terms which fully bear out Professor Huxley's opinion of their resemblance to the aborigines of Australia. They are extremely small, slight, and dark, but active, and given to highway robbery; have little or no agriculture, very primitive weapons, and subsist on jungle produce—berries, wild honey, and such like. Their language is allied to the neighbouring Malayalam, one of the Dravidian tongues. Comparative measurements of several different tribes are given. We are enabled to reproduce the accompanying illustration by permission of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Pres. R.A.S.

Another paper, by that very promising young philologist, Mr. Beames, of the Bengal Civil Service, explains the peculiarities of the dialect of Hindu spoken by the Rajpoots and Bramins of Bhogpore—a portion of the Gangetic valley east of Benares—and discusses the affinities of several dialects of the modern North Indian languages. He also mentions the fact, common to the Bhogporeo and to other Hindu dialects, that an archaic language, differing widely from the ordinary Hindostanee, is used in writing by native merchants and the rural population; and he observes that the corrupt and imperfect Deva-Nagaree character used for the Bhogpore Hindu is almost identical with that used in Guzerat in the west.

The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise. A Narrative of Travel, with Studies of Man and Nature. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE. Two vols. Macmillan and Co., 1869.

As might be expected from its title, and from the well-earned reputation of its author, Mr. Wallace's book contains much that is of great value to the ethnologist, not only in the way of positive information, but of thoughtful and suggestive speculation.

Mr. Wallace recognises two types of mankind in the Malay Archipelago: the Malayan and the Papuan; and he believes "that these two have no traceable affinity to each other", and that the line which separates them nearly corresponds with, though it lies rather to the east of, that which separates the two distributional provinces of animals, which he has so well discriminated as Indo-Malayan and Austro-Malayan. The physical and psychical characters of the Malayan and Papuan races are detailed with great care, and the author's opportunities and power of accurate observation render this part of his work particularly valuable. Mr. Wallace gives us a far more distinct conception than we previously possessed of the people of Timor, of Celebes, and of the Maluccas, and adds much that is of interest respecting the Malays and the Papuans. The description of the latter people at p. 445 is very faithful:—

"The typical Papuan race is in many respects the very opposite of the Malay, and it has hitherto been very imperfectly described. The colour of the body is a deep, sooty-brown or black; sometimes approaching, but never quite equalling the jet-black of some negro races. It varies in tint, however, more than that of the Malay, and is sometimes a dusky-brown. The hair is very peculiar, being harsh, dry, and frizzly, growing in little tufts or curls, which in youth are very short and compact, but afterwards grow out to a considerable length, forming the compact frizzled mop which is the Papuans' pride and glory. The face is adorned with a beard of the same frizzly nature as the hair of the head. The arms, legs, and breast are also more or less clothed with hair of a similar nature.

In stature the Papuan decidedly surpasses the Malay, and is perhaps equal, or even superior, to the average of Europeans. The legs

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are long and thin, and the hands and feet larger than in the Malays. The face is somewhat elongated; the forehead flattish; the brows very prominent; the nose is large, rather arched and high; the base thick; the nostrils broad, with the aperture hidden, owing to the tip of the nose being elongated; the mouth is large; the lips thick and protuberant."



This portrait would as well suit a Papuan of the south-east coast of New Guinea as any of those whom Mr. Wallace saw. But there would seem to be a greater variation of colour among the southern tribes, some of whom are of very light colour, though they exhibit the characteristic hair and features.

Mr. Wallace remarks that "the same Papuan race seems to extend over the islands east of New Guinea as far as the Fijis." Undoubtedly, a woolly-haired, dark, or negroid stock extends, or did extend, not only to the Fijis, but to Tasmania; but it would be a mistake to assume that all these people have the same characters as those which mark the typical Papuans. On the contrary, they vary greatly in stature and in the form of their features; so that it would not be difficult to form among the Pacific negritos a series whereby the interval between the typical Papuan and the Semang could be filled up. Hence we must demur to Mr. Wallace's conclusion that there is little or no affinity between the Papuan and the Semang; and consequently hence to his view that the geographical distribution of man corresponds with that of animals in the Malay Archipelago. The western limit of the eastern Negroid races lies in the Andaman islands, or altogether to the west of the Malay Archipelago. And even admitting that the

Ahetas, Semangs, and Andamanese are not affined to the Papuans, the attempt to draw a parallel between the distribution of man and that of animals in the region in question breaks down when we consider that the Australians and the Papuans are as different as Hindoo coolies and Negroes. Still less easy is it for us to assent to one or two other propositions which Mr. Wallace puts forth. He considers that the brown races of the Pacific—the Sandwich Islanders and New Zealanders—are modifications of the Papuan stock; and that the occurrence of a decided Malay element in the Polynesian languages has almost nothing to do with any ancient physical connection of the Malays with the Polynesians, but is “altogether a recent phenomenon originating in the roaming habits of the chief Malay tribes.” On the contrary, speaking from a personal knowledge of both races, we should be disposed to assert broadly that the Pacific negritos and the true Polynesians came of stocks between which there may have been intermixture, but which are primitively as distinct as Negroes and North American Indians; and that no conclusion from philological facts rests upon better evidence than that which Hale and others have drawn from the dialects of Polynesia, that the inhabitants of its multitudinous islands have migrated at no very recent period from some common seat in, or near, the Malay Archipelago. But these divergences of opinion, the grounds of which cannot even be indicated in a brief notice like the present, by no means interfere with our high estimation of Mr. Wallace’s contributions to ethnology, the merits of which will become the more apparent the more they are studied.

Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ; being Contributions to the Archæology and Palæontology of Périgord and the adjoining Provinces of Southern France.
By EDWARD LARTET and HENRY CHRISTY. Edited by T. RUPERT JONES, Professor of Geology, etc., Royal Military College, Sandhurst. 4to Maps. Baillière, London and Paris. 1865-68.

THIS work is being published in parts of about twenty or thirty pages each, and with six lithographic plates. Seven numbers have already been issued, containing memoirs and letters on subjects connected with the caves of the Department of the Dordogne (a portion of the ancient Aquitania) and their various contents, consisting of the relics of the old cave-folk of Périgord, their bones and skulls, their tools, weapons of bone, horn and stone, comprising the personal ornaments and carved implements used by them. The bones of the contemporary animals which they hunted for food also formed part of the subject-matter of this work. An essay “On Ancient Aquitaine and its Caves,” by M. E. Lartet; “On the Prehistoric Cave-dwellers of Southern France, their Habits, etc.,” by the late Mr. H. Christy; “On the Geology of the Valley of the Vézère, where the chief Caves occur,” by Professor Rupert Jones; “On the Similitary of the Implements found in these Caves with those used by the North American Indians, and on the ‘Germans’ of the Roman period, and the range of the Reindeer,” by Mr. Alexander Anderson; “On the Cave of Cromagnon, by

M. Louis Lartet ; and "On the Human Bones found in that Cave," by M. Pruner-Bey, are the chief memoirs yet published in the *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*, and are accompanied with elaborate descriptions of the plates of bone implements by M. E. Lartet, and of those of stone implements by Professor Rupert Jones. Altogether a great amount of very valuable information has been already brought together in this work, which is illustrated also with two of a series of sketches of interesting points in the Vézère Valley made by Mr. W. Tipping, and carefully lithographed, and with numerous woodcuts illustrative of many specimens, caves, etc., referred to in the text. A memoir by Dr. Broca on the human bones from Cromagnon is expected to follow shortly ; and both the past and the future seem to concur in carrying out the liberal intentions of the lamented Henry Christy, the originator of the book, and the acute, energetic, and liberal collector of the contents of these caves, who planned and commenced this work, not for profit, but for the diffusion of knowledge and the advance of real ethnological science.

THE first number of the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, edited by A. Bastian and Dr. Hartmann, has arrived too late for detailed notice in the present number of the Ethnological Journal. We desire, however, at once to direct the attention of all ethnologists to this new and valuable auxiliary.

ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES AND QUERIES.

On a Method of Measuring the Human Form, for the use of Students in Ethnology. By J. H. LAMPREY, Assistant-Secretary and Sub-Editor of the *Quarterly Journal* of the Society, and Librarian to the Royal Geographical Society, etc.

COLLECTORS of photographs illustrative of the races of man, have experienced the greatest difficulty in questions of comparison of measurement of individuals by some common standard. Latterly a plan, simple and answering the purpose, has been put in practice by myself, which I submit to the Society for the approval of fellow-workers, with the hope of obtaining valuable suggestions of improvement in details not yet complete.

A stout frame of wood, seven feet by three, is neatly ruled along its inner side into divisions of two inches ; small nails are driven into these ruled lines, and fine silk thread is strained over them, dividing the included surface by longitudinal and latitudinal lines into squares of two inches every way. Against this screen the figure is placed, the heel fairly on a line with one of the strings ; the iron prop to support the object is pressed firmly in its place at some distance from the background ; for, by this means better defined outlines are secured than if the man stood directly against a solid screen on which lines might have been scored. By means of such photographs



FIGURE OF YOUNG AFRICAN,
(Sierra Leone),

rate *Mr. Lamproy's Method of Measuring the Human Frame.*

the anatomical structure of a good academy figure or model of six feet can be compared with a Malay of four feet eight in height; and the study of all those peculiarities of contour which are so distinctly observable in each group, are greatly helped by this system of perpendicular lines, and they serve as good guides to their definition, which no verbal description can convey, and but few artists could delineate. The photographs are produced on a large scale, and my portfolio already contains a collection of specimens of various races.

Photographers on foreign stations would greatly assist us if they adopted the same plan; and encouraged by the general expression of opinion as to the value of the method by the Society, I shall take steps to disseminate the photographs amongst collectors who may choose to apply for them, or desire to communicate with me in furtherance of the method.

Nyam-Nyam.—What vocabulary is there of the Nyam-Nyam languages besides that given by Mr. Petherick?

There is a suggestion that there is a connection between the Nyam-Nyam tribes (reputed to have tails) and the Ashantees. The few remains of the Nyam-Nyam dialects appear to favour the supposition, but the materials available are insufficient for arriving at any certain conclusion.

HYDE CLARK.

32, St. George's Square, S.W.

Titans.—It is possible the Titans of mythology may represent some old aboriginal populations of Asia Minor. Didi in the Georgian dialects means *great*, and Didani might be applied to "great men" as plural; the Titans were reputed to be giants. Titan does not appear to be of Greek origin or derivation.

X.

Father and Mother.—In Georgia the words are mama for father, and deda for mother. This may be treated as a transposition, and we may compare it familiarly with our daddy and mammy. It is, however, an example of transposition as compared with languages more nearly allied. The suggestion naturally is, that the early types of words for father and mother were simply various types and forms indiscriminately applied to either parent, and, therefore, meaning no more than parent. This is in analogy with what we know of early forms, which are not restricted to a sole type, and likewise with what we know of the secondary stage, in which the several forms are arbitrarily sorted out by different races to define modifications of the original idea. If this be the case, speculations as to the relative antiquity of the word for mother are much less certain than they appear. ?

Cromlechs, etc.—What justification is there for assuming that monuments of the so-called Druidic class are necessary Aryan and Indo-European? Are they really confined to the Indo-European area? According to Mr. Fergusson, they are to be found in northern Asia in the non-Indo-European area.

INDOPHILUS.

Effect of Suckling.—I have heard it alleged of countries where wet-nurses are much employed, that the children acquire a likeness to the nurses. Are there any recorded observations? O. K.

I see mentioned in a recent work entitled "Under Egyptian Palms," that in one of the cavern tombs on the Nile the skulls contained perfect teeth, "and the upper teeth had in many instances *been filed sharp* ; and the author goes on to say that Livingstone speaks of certain tribes of central Africa where women file their teeth to a point. May I ask any of your readers if this custom is well authenticated as common to East Africa in ancient or modern times. J. H. L.

Scalping.—Scalping has not hitherto been considered a characteristic custom of any of the wild tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal. It appears to be so, however, for Mr. Daly, Official District Superintendent of Police, in reporting an attack by the Loshai Rookies on the Manae-Rhiel tea-gardens in Cachae on the 4th of January, 1869, writes as follows :—"The bodies of seven coolies were found, one man, five women, and a child. I only observed that the head of the man had been removed. This, however (the head), I found about one hundred yards from the trunk, and with the scalp taken off ; and in commenting on this raid, the *Friend of India* confirms the statement that the object of the Loshais was to obtain scalps to use in celebrating the funeral rites of a late chief. The Naga tribes, says that journal, use the scalping-knife with a ferocity which is only equalled by the American Indians, and the scalps are carefully preserved as evidences of their prowess and vengeance over their enemies. On the death of a chief all the scalps taken by him during his warlike career are burned with his remains."

NOTICES OF ETHNOLOGY.

SOME excavations have lately been made by the Rev. Frederick Porter, in a cromlech in the Island of Jersey, known by the name of the Druids' Temple or Polgulaye, at Faldouet. It is situated on a plateau immediately over Gorey and Ann Port, and is described by Falle, in his *History of Jersey*.

The following account of the excavations is given by Mr. Porter in the *Jersey Times* of the 8th February, 1869 :—"When I first saw the cromlech I found it had been partly opened, but there was still much to explore. On inquiry, I ascertained that some thirty years previously the then proprietor of the soil cleared away the western part of the mound and opened the primary and some other cists ; he appeared to have but little idea of what he was to find, and probably looked for other things than prehistoric relics. The cromlech is placed east and west longitudinally. The west contains the primary cist, the east end is the entrance and in ordinary cases is left open. An area or nave joins the primary cist, having on each side a succession of cists, and this area comes into contact on each side with the avenue or parallelith

rance. The cromlech becomes narrower and depressed east; but it does not appear to have had ever more than a block to cover it in. The primary cist is a fine specimen of architecture. It consists of five upright stones in a circular form, four of which support the transverse stone; the fifth and central stone does not reach the four inches, but the whole form a complete barrier to the west. I commenced operations by cutting a trench on the mound, which I thought would strike the entrance. Soon I came upon a wall which seemed to me to be of the same date. Breaking through this, I came to a second and in a south-westerly direction, and one in a north-easterly direction (the three walls sprung from the outer upright stones at the north and south respectively), admitted full ingress to the interior. The walls are circular and concentric. The outer wall blocked the entrance from the east; the stones of the walls are well laid, with mortar or cement to bind them; the outer wall is upright, and incline inward from their base, and all have a support of pillars which vary in height from two feet to three, and are such other some three or four feet. Betwixt the inner wall on the south side, and not far from the entrance to the cromlech are four upright stones, looking very much like the remains of a date anterior to the walls. I have been in clearing away the mound on the west front, portions of which have been covered, and this confirms me in my ideas that the walls are continuous. The labour of opening this cromlech is considerable, for it was covered in with rubble and rough stones, and this the surface water readily percolated, and not only decomposed many of the deposits. Some skulls found in the mound as to render it impossible to determine their type. I found remains interred in all the forms I have described, also fragments of charcoal, layers of limpet shells and shingle; a great quantity of pottery, some fine, some coarse, heaped together; a small quantity of split flints of no definite use as weapons or implements, domestic or warlike. . . .”

Archæology: Cornwall Tolmens.—We wish to draw attention to the following:—

“*To the Editor of the Times.*

I recorded last week the destruction of the great Tolmen in the parish of Penrhyn, which was blown up for the sake of the granite by a man named Dunstan.

The correspondent writes:—“Immediately beneath the Main (or Mean) stone is a large and valuable quarry of superior granite, which has a depth of about forty feet, and close up to the bed on which the rock rested. This quarry has been worked by a man named Dunstan, who appears to have had a great desire to get at the valuable bed on which the rock rested; and, unknown to Mr. W. Hosken, the owner of the land, we are informed, has been working after dark,

"Having been informed some weeks ago by the Rev. Mr. Winwood that the Tolmaen was in danger, I put myself in communication with the proprietor, Mr. Haskin, intending to offer some compensation for, or, if possible, to acquire it permanently for the nation; but I was assured that there was no reason for any anxiety on the subject.

"The mischief done is of course irreparable: but every right-minded man must condemn the wanton barbarism of him who has thus destroyed, for the mere sake of the granite on which it stood, a monument which old Borlase called the 'most astonishing of its kind.'

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"March 21st.

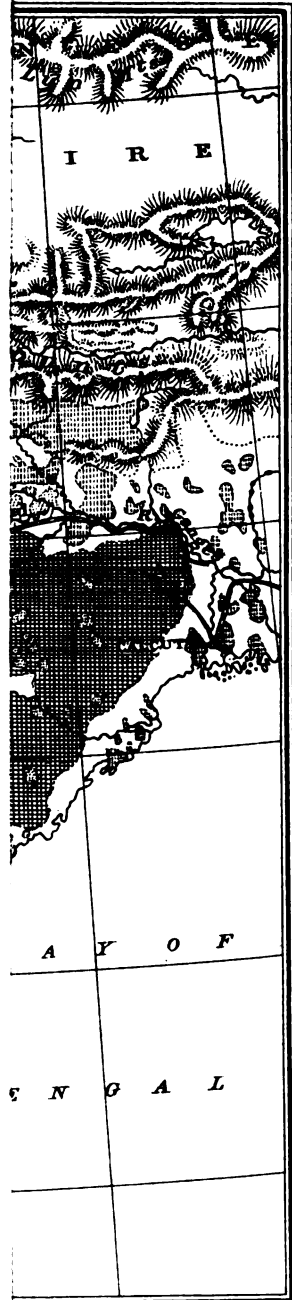
"JOHN LUBBOCK."

"In consequence of Sir John Lubbock's appeal on the late destruction of the Great Tol-maen, the Council of the Ethnological Society have appointed a Committee to investigate the prehistoric monuments of these islands, and the measures to be taken for their preservation. It includes Sir John Lubbock, Prof. Huxley, Colonel Lane Fox, Mr. Hyde Clarke, Mr. John Evans, Mr. Thomas Wright, Dr. Thurnam, Mr. H. G. Bohn, Mr. Blackmore, and Mr. A. W. Franks."—*Athenæum*.

In consequence of a communication from Sir John Lubbock in reference to the destruction of the great Tolmaen in Cornwall, the Council of the Ethnological Society has named a committee to ascertain the present state of prehistoric monuments in these islands, and the best means for their preservation. The committee comprises Sir John Lubbock, Professor Huxley, Colonel Lane Fox, Mr. Hyde Clark, Mr. Blackmore, Mr. John Evans, Mr. A. W. Franks, Mr. T. Wright, Mr. H. G. Bohn, and Mr. Samuel Laing, Vice-President.

Antiquarian Discovery.—While the sexton of the parish church of Padstow, Cornwall, was digging in the churchyard on Monday, he came upon an upright piece of granite, fixed in a piece of much larger size, which seemed to form the lower part of a very ancient piece of carved work. The footpiece was a large, flat, and irregular-sided granite stone, eight feet long and five feet wide, weighing nearly three tons. Padstow Church was built more than a thousand years ago.

boring holes and blasting underneath the rock. He appears to have failed in his first attempt, but on Tuesday he bored a hole on the other side, and put in a charge, which, when fired, threw the Tolmen off its pivot, when it gradually, and as if reluctantly, rolled into the quarry beneath, where it now lies forty feet below the place it has occupied for centuries, to the wonder and admiration of thousands. Soon after it fell into the quarry these greedy Goths fell on it like crows on carrion, and commenced boring holes in it, intending with their rippers and wedges to split it in pieces; but, fortunately, the proprietor was informed of what had taken place, and he immediately gave orders that it should remain as it is, as it was contrary to his wish that it should have been disturbed."



Scamford's Geography: Enab: London.

ORDINARY MEETING, MARCH 9TH, 1869.

[*Held at the Museum of Practical Geology.*]

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

ON THE ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF INDIA.

New Members.—J. W. FLOWER, Esq., F.G.S.; W. BOYD DAWKINS, Esq., F.R.S.; T. M. HUGHES, Esq., F.G.S.; W. WALLBANK SANDERSON, Esq.

AMONGST the numerous objects of art exhibited were the following, viz.:—204 specimens of chippings of flint and chert from Kaleyzur, Jubbulpoor, and Kuttureea, exhibited by the Royal Asiatic Society. Twelve quartzite implements from Madras; four polished celts from Central India; four cores from the Indus; and two cards of flakes and cores from Jubbulpoor, by John Evans, Esq. Two quartzite implements from Madras; twenty almond-shaped implements from the Bundelcund; and one stone hammer; twelve stone implements from the banks of the Irawaddy, by Col. Lane Fox. The India Museum sent a fine collection of photographs, and the Amateur Photographic Society exhibited a collection of ethnological illustrations.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

THE Council of the Society over which I have the honour to preside, proposes to direct public attention to the desirableness of subjecting the physical characters, the languages, the civilisation, the religions, in short, the ethnology, of the various peoples over whom the rule of Britain extends, to systematic investigation.

To this end, we propose to hold a series of meetings in this and succeeding sessions, each of which shall be devoted to the ethnology of one or other of the British possessions. On these occasions we earnestly invite the co-operation of persons who have been, or are likely to be, resident in the countries under consideration. We hope that the co-operation we seek will take two forms. On the one hand, we trust that those who, as old residents, possess information, will give it to us for the benefit of the public. And, on the other hand, that those who are going to be residents abroad will attend for the purpose of learning how easy for them it is to serve science

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and forward the solution of great and interesting problems by the expenditure of a small amount of thoughtful and intelligent attention.

The first of these meetings is that which, by the permission of the Director-General, is held in the Theatre of the Museum of Practical Geology, to-night. It seemed fitting that the greatest of the possessions of the Empire should be the first to claim our attention; and, on seeking for that co-operation which was so essential to the success of our plans among persons familiar with India, we found a store of valuable materials most liberally and kindly thrown open to us.

You have seen the names of the contributors of papers—to every Indian they guarantee the value of those papers. The Indian Museum has been good enough to place its wonderful collection of photographs at our disposal; and, by Dr. Forbes Watson's kindness, they are disposed around this theatre in a manner which makes them accessible to everyone. Other contributions have poured in; and, in short, our one evening necessarily has expanded itself into two.

With this wealth of contributions from Indian veterans, speaking from long practical experience of the country and its people—men whose names you know, and whose contributions you will be anxious to hear—you will probably be inclined to ask whether it was vanity, or simple want of wisdom, which led me to allow myself to be announced to give you a preliminary address. I assure you, so far as I know, neither of these motives had anything to do with a position which I very unwillingly assume. I precede my Indian friends simply as a sort of clearer of jungle, in advance of their elephants. And the particular jungle which I wish to clear is that ignorance of India and all that belongs to it, which characterises the general English mind, and which is one of the many blessings of our peculiar system of education.

I desire to point out to you in as few words as will serve my necessities, the physical conformation of India, the bearing of that physical conformation on its ethnology, and the problem offered by its ethnology. To this end, I have had constructed the map which you see on the wall, in which the physical features of India are made prominent, and the names of places are subordinate—thus reversing the features of the ordinary map.

By the help of this map you will perceive that the country which is known by the name of Hindostan has somewhat the shape of the diamond on a pack of cards, having a north angle at Ladakh, a south angle at Cape Comorin, a west angle near the mouth of the Indus, and an east angle near that of the Ganges.

Let us consider the size of this great diamond. Its north and south measurement is over eighteen hundred miles—three times as great as the distance from the Isle of Wight to the Orkneys. The east and west diameter is more than fifteen hundred miles—as far, Ritter tells us, as from Bayonne to Constantinople. The superficial area is equal to half that of Europe, and the population is fully one-third that of Europe. The south-west and the south-east sides of our Indian diamond are shores of the ocean, separated for the greater part of their length by more than a thousand miles of sea from any other land. The north-eastern boundary is the vast chain of the Himalayas, the most massive and the highest mountains in the world, forming a great wall of snow-peaks a thousand miles long. On the north-west lie the steep and barren cliffs of Beloochistan and Afghanistan, pierced by only two considerable passes, that of Bholan and that of Caubool.

Altogether, it would be difficult to find, in the whole world, another area so vast and so hedged in and cut off from the rest of the world on all sides by natural barriers.

Within its fence of mountain and sea, India itself is subdivided by Nature into two great regions which differ in almost every respect. The first is the “river plain”, which extends from the Arabian Gulf to the Bay of Bengal, and bears the waters of the Indus to the west, those of the Ganges to the east. It is a mass of alluvial soil, composed of mud or sand and vegetable *débris*, which has been brought down from all the adjacent highlands by the affluents of the two great rivers. The water-shed between the two river basins does not rise to a thousand feet above the level of either sea, and lies to the north and west of Delhi. From this region most of the waters flow east to the Jumna and west to the Sutlej; but a few streams swell neither of these great torrents, but meet to form a river famous in Hindoo history—the Saraswati, which takes a north-west course, and finally becomes lost in the sands of that great desert which lies west of the Indus.

The India of most people’s imaginations—the India of Clive and of Hastings—is that part of the great plain which lies east of the Saraswati, and forms the river basin of the Jumna and of the Ganges. It is one of the most fertile and richly endowed countries in the world, “the land of black antelope”, the holy land of Brahminism. There lie Delhi, Lucknow, and Agra; there once flourished the great Hindoo and Mahomedan emperor.

The Western river basin on the other hand, though rich and fertile enough, in its upper region, the Punjab, after the five rivers have joined into the Indus, becomes a long stretch of

frightful deserts which bound the river on either hand and bar the passage from west to east.

From the Gulf of Cutch, on the eastern side of the great desert of Sind, a range of moderate elevation—the Arravalli hills—runs north-east to near Delhi. A divergent line drawn east by north from Gujerat to near the Ganges, marks the direction of a more lofty range, the Vindhya mountains. Enclosed between them lies a great extent of hilly country, all of whose rivers flow into the Jumna, constituting the provinces of Malwa, Gwalior, and Bundelcund. The Vindhya mountains form the north wall of a great valley, which takes a nearly easterly and westerly direction, and along which, from east to west, flows the river Nerbudda. South of this, again, is a rugged highland about three times as big as France, which occupies all the peninsula beyond the river plain, and is called the Dekhan. On its eastern and western sides the Dekhan falls towards the sea in steep cliffy hills, the eastern and western Ghats, and these, on the south, pass into one another by the range of the Neilgherry hills. The western Ghats are higher than the eastern, and the slope of the whole table land is from the summit of the western Ghats towards the east coast, so that the three great rivers, the Mahanadi, the Godavery, and the Krishna, which drain the table land, all flow into the Sea of Bengal, while only short and insignificant streams pass to the Arabian Sea.

The Dekhan is thus essentially a highland country, full of wild gullies, barren plains, and jungly morasses, as different from the valley of the Ganges as the Isle of Skye from Holland.

The inhabitants of Hindostan are broadly distinguishable into two groups: first, the people of the Dekhan; secondly, the people who inhabit the river plains and northern heights, and have thence overflowed the strips of plain which lie between the Ghats and the sea, and penetrated more or less deeply into the Dekhan itself.

The proper population of the Dekhan has no analogue in north-eastern or north-western Asia. They are long headed, dark-skinned, and dark-eyed men, with black wavy hair, devoid of any inclination to woolliness; not unfrequently, they exhibit prominent brow ridges. Examples of them are commonly to be seen in the coolies, who work their way over to this country in Indiamen; and any one who has ever seen an Australian native will be struck with the resemblance between the two. They speak languages known as Dravidian, and where they have been left in their primitive condition are thorough savages.

The rest of the population of Hindostan is allied in physical character and language either to the adjacent peoples in the

north-west and the north-east, or exhibits evidence of being the result of the intermixing of such people with the Dravidians.

Thus, on the north and east, the semi-civilised people assume more or less completely the physiognomy and the linguistic peculiarities of the Mongoloid tribes of Thibet and Ultra-Gangetic Asia.

The population of all of the rest of Hindostan, on the other hand, exhibits, in physique and in language, obvious signs of the influence of the pale-faced Aryans, who lie to the north-west, and stretch from the waters of the Indus to those of the North Sea, everywhere speaking languages allied to the Sanscrit, which forms the basis of all the dialects of civilised India.

In Europe, two distinct types of these pale-faced people are to be observed : the one having black eyes and hair, and sallow skins ; the other, with yellow hair, blue eyes, and white ruddy skins. Both these types are traceable to the frontiers of Hindostan, the dark among the Afghans, the fair among the Siah-posh, who live in the inaccessible valleys of the Hindoo Koosh. But I do not know that there is any evidence to show that the early Aryan settlers in Hindostan possessed one complexion rather than the other ; certainly the dark pale type is that which predominates almost exclusively among the high caste Hindoos of the present day.

All the testimony of history, and all the internal evidence afforded by Sanscrit literature, go to prove that the Aryans were originally the kith and kin of the Persians, and that they invaded Hindostan from the north-west, becoming first possessed of Sind, and then, through long ages of battle with the pre-existing population, making their way across the Saraswati, and ultimately to the lower course of the Ganges.

There can be no reasonable doubt that this pre-existing population was in great measure Dravidian, though whether it was already mixed with a Mongoloid element from the north-east or not, does not appear. In part, mixing with the conquerors and modifying their physical characters, their language, and their religion into endless shades of diversity ; while, in part, extirpated, and, in part, driven to the shelter of their savage fastnesses among the hills of the Dekhan, the Dravidians remain, like the Celts of Brittany and of Wales, a fragmentary and dispossessed primitive population—the hill tribes of whom we shall hear so much to-night.

XII.—On the Characteristics of the Population of Central and Southern India. By SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

THE luminous description given by the President, of the physical conformation of India, as depicted on the map, prepared under his directions, has greatly facilitated the task of those who desire to place before this assembly, a view of the component parts of the 180 millions inhabiting that vast country.

The population is thus seen to fall into three great divisions, corresponding with the natural features of the surface.

1. The aboriginal races which have found refuge in secluded hills and forests, occupy the central mountainous tract.

2. The civilised classes derived from the commingling of these, with more recent arrivals and influences, are found along the coasts, and upon the more accessible plains and valleys of the peninsula.

And 3. The latest intruders who have overspread the open country, through which the Indus and Ganges find their way on either hand to the sea. Although not free from admixture with the indigenous people, they have preserved their original characteristics, whilst they have imposed their own institutions and laws, in far larger measure, on the earlier inhabitants, leavening the whole mass in a greater or lesser degree.

When, however, it is sought to trace the origin and progress of the revolutions which have caused this distribution, the inquirer is beset with difficulties.

In the first place, he is met by the absence of all historical records of past ages. For eminent as the Hindu mind has shown itself to be, in the cultivation of speculative knowledge, it is strangely deficient in habits of accurate observation. There are no contemporary annals, nor any attempts of native authors to supply their place from the investigations of early myths and ancient monuments. He is, therefore, thrown upon the vague assertions of tradition, supplemented by such facts as can be gathered from extant inscriptions, (which fortunately are numerous,) on stone and metal, in archaic characters unintelligible to the modern inhabitants, but which have been deciphered by the ingenuity and perseverance of European scholars. Besides these, he may glean some inferences from the distorted mythological statements of the *puranas*, and from incidental remarks by foreign writers who have touched on Indian subjects.

The people themselves arrange their countrymen under two heads; five termed *Panch-gaura*, belonging to the Hindi, or as is now generally called the Aryan group, and the remaining five or *Panch-Dravida* to the Tamil type. The latter is restricted in native parlance to the more civilised societies speak-

ing languages closely affiliated to Tamil. But, as will be seen, this is by no means an accurate test, for it excludes some who, though evidently Dravidian in physical character, yet speak a Gaurian dialect. And it rejects, under the opprobrious terms of Vedars, Kiritas, Mlechas, etc., aboriginal tribes, using undoubted Tamilian dialects. Under this view we rather classify the Panch-Dravidian as follows :—1. Those tribes reduced to a few scattered remnants, which are found in the less accessible parts of the country, amid mountain recesses and in the depths of forests, often without fixed habitations ; 2. Those consisting of larger communities, which, from their location in less frequented tracts, have been able to retain their nationality ; 3. The servile classes who have been reduced to slavery, and attached as cultivators to the soil ; 4. The predatory tribes, who still maintain a considerable degree of independence ; 5. The civilised classes who form the bulk of the inhabitants, and occupy the best and fairest portions of the land ; and 6. The descendants of Aryan settlers who have penetrated into the south, and amalgamating with the original settlers, have adopted their language and manners.

Such is pretty nearly the sum of our present knowledge of Indian ethnology. Much attention has been given to the subject of late, but we have yet only reached the threshold of inquiry, and it remains to combine and follow out the glimpses obtained into the interior, and to arrange the relations of the several parts into something like a consistent and comprehensive view of the whole.

In tracing the origin of the six classes of the population above specified, considerable aid is obtained from an examination of their religious tenets. These may be comprised under three principal heads :—^{1.)}

1. The worship of the *dii loci*, the tutelary deities presiding over the elements and places.
2. That of ancestors.
3. That of evil beings, malevolent influences, and the spirits of wicked men.

These, although probably in the first instance distinctive of particular tribes, have become more or less blended in practice with the religious observances of the present time, and also with the worship of Siva, Vishnu, Durga, and Káli, and the more recent deities of the Brahminical theogony, from the tendency of idolatrous nations generally to reverence any or all divinities worshipped by their neighbours, with a view of conciliating their favour or deprecating their enmity.

Besides the primitive forms of belief above specified, there are many sectarian creeds of more recent origin, which do not call for

special notice. Some references must, however, be made to Buddhism, which, although sedulously and ruthlessly extirpated as an atheistic heresy, still exercises a remarkable influence, and keeps up party feuds and distinctions, than which there remains little else to show their former connection with that religion.

2. To the indications of origin furnished by a common belief, may be added those derived from similarity of character, habits, and customs, between distant communities, especially when these are of a peculiar and unusual description.

In the north-east corner of the central mountainous region represented on the map, between the Mahanadi and Godavery rivers, is found a tribe which has preserved its normal character remarkably free from change and from external influence. The Konds, or, as they call themselves, the Kuingas, although only discovered within the last thirty-five years, are better known than most of the other barbarous tribes, from the fact, that for ages they have been in the habit of sacrificing human victims in great numbers to secure the favour of the deities presiding over their dwellings, fields, hills, etc., but especially of the earth-goddess.

The successful efforts employed to abolish this barbarous rite have made the subject familiar to all, and it is remarkable that such knowledge should have failed to attract attention to a practice precisely similar in its objects and in its details, which is observed in every village of Southern India, with this single difference, that a buffalo is substituted for a human victim. My attention was early drawn to this practice, which is called the festival of the village goddess (*Devi*, or *Grama Devati*),* the descriptions of which led me to believe it might throw light on the early condition of the servile classes, and resolving to witness its celebration, I repaired to the village of Serúr, in the

* See *Divnar*, Wilson's *Glossary*, where the synonyms are *Bhim-sen*, *Bhum-sen*, etc. The term *bhūm*, for "earth", Persian *bóm*, is evidently an aboriginal word, and is found in every dialect. The influence of the Aryan myths, connected with the story of the Mahabharat has given currency to the story of the five Pandus throughout India. Hence the change from the name of *Bhum-sen*, or *Bhum-pen* to *Bhim-sen*, now so generally applied to the god of the Gonds. "One thing is certain," says the Rev. Stephen Hislop, "the worship is spread over all parts of the country, from Berar to the extreme east of Bustar, and that not merely among the Hinduised aborigines, who had begun to honour *Khandova*, etc., but among the rudest and most savage tribes. He is generally adored in the form of an unshapely stone covered with vermilion."—*Aboriginal Tribes*, page 16.

The *Asayas* or pariah (*holiyara*) washermen of Mysore, "worship a god called *Bhuma Devaru*, who is represented by a shapeless stone. . . . At the new moon they occasionally observe a feast in honour of deceased parents."—*Buchanan's Journey*, i, 338.

Southern Mahratta country, in March, 1829. It would occupy too much time to describe the ceremony in full, which is the less necessary as the details vary in different places; but the general features are always the same.

The temple of the goddess is a mean structure outside the village. The officiating priests are the *Parias*,* who, on this occasion, and on it alone, are exempt from the degrading condition which excludes them from the village, and from contact with the inhabitants. With them are included the *Mangs* or workers in leather, the *Asádis* or *Dásaris*, *paria* dancing girls devoted to the service of the temple, the musician in attendance on them called *Rániga*†, who acts also as a sort of jester or buffoon, and a functionary called *Pót-raj*, who officiates as *pujári* to a rural god named also *Pót-raj*,‡ to whom a small altar is erected behind the temple of the village goddess. He is armed with a long whip, which he cracks with great dexterity, and to which also at various parts of the ceremony divine honours are paid.

All the members of the village community take part in the festival with the hereditary district officers, many of them Brahmans. The shepherds or *Dhangars* of the neighbouring villages are also invited, and they attend with their priests called *Virgars* or *Irgars*, accompanied by the *dhol* or big drum peculiar to their caste. But the whole is under the guidance and management of the *Parias*.

The festival commences always on a Tuesday, the day of rest among the agricultural classes, both for man and beast. The most important and essential ceremonies take place on the second and fifth days. On the former, the sacred buffalo, which had been purchased by the *Parias*,§ an animal without blemish, is thrown down before the goddess, its head struck off by a single blow and placed in front of the shrine with one fore-leg thrust into its mouth. Around are placed vessels containing the dif-

* To prevent misapprehension it should be mentioned that the *Paria* caste has many denominations, as—

Paraiya	} In Tamil.	Mhar	} Mahratta.
Vetti		Mang	
Chakkili		Parwári	
Dher	} Hindi.	Mála ...	Telugu.
Chamar		Holiyar	Canarese.
Dhór		Mádiga	

† *Randga*, in Mahratta, "is a libertine, a dissolute fellow." *Ranjha* or *Ranjhan* is the name given to Leander by Hindu poets.—Shakespeare's *Dictionary*.

‡ The Rev. Stephen Hislop mentions *Pot-linga* as one of the deities worshipped by the Gonds in Eastern Berar.—*Aboriginal Tribes*, page 15.

§ It is often a powerful animal turned loose when a calf and allowed to feed and roam about the village; but, in this instance, it was purchased.

ferent cereals, and hard by, a heap of mixed grains, with a drill-plough in the centre. The carcase is then cut up into small pieces, and each cultivator receives a portion to bury in his field. The blood and offal are collected into a large basket, over which some pots of the cooked food which had been presented as a meat offering (*naivedya*), had previously been broken, and Pót-raj taking a live kid called the *hari-mariah*,* hews it in pieces over the whole. The mess (*cheraga*) is then mixed together, and the basket being placed on the head of a naked Mang, he runs off with it, flinging the contents into the air, and scattering them right and left, as an offering (*bhut-bali*) to the evil spirits, and followed by the other Parias, and the village Paiks,† with drawn swords. Sometimes the demons arrest the progress of the party, when more of the mess is thrown about, and fowls and sheep are sacrificed, till the spirits are appeased.

During the whole time of the sacrifice the armed paiks keep vigilant guard, lest any intruder should secrete a morsel of flesh or a drop of the blood, which, if carried off successfully, after declaring the purpose, would transfer the merit of the offering to the strangers' village.

On the return of the party from making the circuit of the village another buffalo, seized by force wherever it can be found (*zulmi-khulga*), is sacrificed by decapitating it in the same manner as the former; but no particular importance is attached to it, and the flesh is distributed to be eaten.

The third and fourth days are devoted to private offerings. On the former all the inhabitants of caste, who had vowed animals to the goddess during the preceding three years for the welfare of their families, or the fertility of their fields, brought the buffaloes or sheep to the *paria pujari*, who struck off their heads. The fourth day was appropriated exclusively to the offerings of the Parias. In this way, some fifty or sixty buffaloes and several hundred sheep were slain, and the heads piled up in two great heaps. Many women on these days walked naked to the temple in fulfilment of vows, but they were covered with leaves and boughs of trees and surrounded by their female relations and friends.

On the fifth and last day (Saturday) the whole community marched in procession, with music, to the temple, and offered a concluding sacrifice at the Pót-raj altar. A lamb was concealed close by. The Pót-raj having found it after a pretended

* Probably from *hari* or *hal*, a plough; and *mariah*, a victim.—Wilson's *Glossary*.

† These are village soldiers or militia, holding land on the tenure of military service. Here they are called *Shetsanadis* and *Halabs*.

search, struck it simply with his whip, which he then placed upon it, and, making several passes with his hands, rendered it insensible; in fact, mesmerised it. When it became rigid and stiff he lifted it up and carried it about on the palm of his hand, to the amazement of the spectators, and then laid it down on the ground. His hands were then tied behind his back by the *pujari*, and the whole party began to dance round him with noisy shouts, the music and the shepherd's drum making a deafening noise. Pot-raj joined in the excitement, his eyes began to roll, his long hair fell loose over his shoulders, and he soon came fully under the influence of the *numen*. He was now led up, still bound, to the place where the lamb lay motionless. He rushed at it, seized it with his teeth, tore through the skin, and ate into its throat.* When it was quite dead, he was lifted up, a dishful of the meat offering was presented to him; he thrust his bloody face into it, and it was then, with the remains of the lamb, buried beside the altar. Meantime his hands were untied, and he fled the place, and did not appear for three days. The rest of the party now adjourned to the front of the temple, where the heap of grain deposited the first day was divided among all the cultivators, to be buried by each one in his field with the bit of flesh. After this, a distribution of the piled-up heads was made by the hand of the *Raniga*. About forty sheep's heads were given to certain privileged persons, among which two were allotted to the *Sircar*! For the rest a general scramble took place, paiks, shepherds, *Parias*, and many boys and men of good caste, were soon rolling in the mass of putrid gore. The heads were flung about in all directions, without regard to rank or caste, the *Brahmans* coming in for an ample share of the filth. The scramble for the buffalo heads was confined to the *Parias*. Whoever was fortunate enough to secure one of either kind, carried it off, and

* There is a sect of religious fanatics in Mithila and the mountains of Nepal, who practise a somewhat similar rite. They are called *Parbatīya* (*Parvatya*) *Sanivāsīs*, and live on raw, warm flesh and leaves. The rules of their order are said to be contained in the *Udasi* and *Udamira Tantras*, and they are compared to the *Goriyeas* of ancient Siam, who fed on raw animals."

A drawing, brought from India by the first Earl of Minto, represents some of these fanatics with the foregoing legend. The first, standing upright, holds a lamb or kid in his teeth, his arms hanging down; the next kills and tears open the kid with his teeth as it lies on the ground; the third, also kneeling, holds the abdomen open with one hand, and the hind-legs with the other, and buries his head in the entrails; the fourth stands like the first, tearing the hind-quarters of the kid, his face crimson with blood, which trickles down his breast; the sixth, in the same bloody guise, is eating the leaves of a tree from branches which he holds in either hand.

See also General Hardwicke's account of the Man-eater, in *Trans. R. As. Soc.* iii. 379.

buried it in his field. The proceedings terminated by a procession round the boundaries of the village lands, preceded by the goddess, and the head of the sacred buffalo carried on the head of one of the Mangs. All order and propriety now ceased. Rániga began to abuse the goddess in the foulest terms; he then turned his fury against the government, the head man of the village, and everyone who fell in his way.* The Parias and Asádis attacked the most respectable and gravest citizens, and laid hold of Brahmins, Lingayats, and Zamindars without scruple. The dancing women jumped on their shoulders, the shepherds beat the big drum, with deafening clangor, and universal license reigned.

On reaching a little temple, sacred to the goddess of boundaries (*polimera-amma*), they halted to make some offerings, and bury the sacred head. As soon as it was covered, the uproar again began. Rániga became more foul mouthed than ever. In vain the head-men, the government officers, and others tried to pacify him by giving him small copper coins. He only broke out with worse imprecations and grosser abuse, till the circuit being completed, all dispersed; the Parias retired to their hamlet outside the town, resuming their humble, servile character, and the village reverted to its wonted peaceful appearance.†

Next day (Sunday) the whole population turned out to a great hunting party.

I found this remarkable institution existing in every part of India where I have been, and I have descriptions of it corresponding in all essential points, from the Dekhan, the Nizam's

* This will remind the classical reader of a similar practice, on a somewhat similar occasion among the Greeks. At the lesser or rural Dionysia (*Διονυσία κατ' ἄγρους*), one of the most ancient festivals, celebrated after harvest by the agricultural population, under the guidance of the local officers, the slaves were released from all control, and asserted their liberty by the noisy extravagance of their conduct. Together with the common people, they had the privilege, which they indulged to the full, of pouring forth the most scurrilous abuse of the bystanders, and venting their jests on all, without distinction. A similar custom, taken probably from the former, prevailed in the Anthyestrian Dionysia two months later, called the "waggon-revel" (*κωμος ἐφ' ἡμαθίων*), where the oburgations were delivered from a waggon.—Smith's *Myth. Dict.*

Another coincidence with the Dionysia was the sacrifice of a kid or fawn (*νεβρος*), which Photius of Constantinople, in his Lexicon (voce *νεβριζιον*), says, on the authority of Demosthenes, was torn in pieces for some mystical or unknown reason.—*Lex.*, Part I, p. 291.

† At Ellore, in the Masulipitam district, where, in 1859, fourteen hundred sheep and fifty to sixty buffaloes were sacrificed at the village goddess' festival; a missionary present states that the goddess was carried round the boundaries on a car, each corner of which was surmounted by a sharp wooden spike on which a lamb was impaled alive and four sucking pigs in the middle.

country, Mysore, the Carnatic, and the Northern Circars. The details vary in different places, but the main features agree in all, and correspond remarkably with the *Mariah* sacrifice of the Konds, which also varies considerably on minor points in different places.* It must be remembered that no account of the Kond rite has ever been given by a competent eye-witness, and it is impossible to say how many points of minuter agreement might have been afforded by such a narrative. The sacrifice of a human being or a buffalo to the guardian divinity of the land has the same purpose in both cases. And the object of the sacrifice and the mode of offering it, by burying the flesh of the victim in every field, to secure fertility and freedom from disease, are common to both. Such uniformity can hardly be the result of chance. When to this is added the part played on such occasions by the Parias, the inference that the servile classes are the representatives of the earliest inhabitants, now only found in a state of freedom in Central India, seems not to be overstrained.

Tradition is not wanting to lend further support to this conjecture. "The Parias," says Dr. Caldwell, "believe that the position which their caste occupied in native society, at some former period, was very different from what it is now, and much more honourable," and he quotes Wilks for the belief entertained by the Canarese Parias (the Holyers), that they were once an independent people with kings of their own. "The Tamil Parias," he adds, "sometimes boast, that at an ancient period theirs was the most distinguished caste in the country."† Ellis observes that "the Pareiyer of Tondamandalam (or the province of Arcot), affect to consider themselves as the real proprietors of the soil."‡ I have myself heard well-informed Tamil scholars and Brahmins speak of them as the *adi-kulam*, a term exactly equivalent to "aborigines." Ellis mentions a custom still prevalent in Tondamandalam, "which may be considered as a periodical assertion of independence. At the close of the Tamil month Ani, with which the revenue year ends, and the cultivation of the following year ought to commence, the whole of the slaves *strike work*, collect in bodies outside the village, and so remain until their masters, by promising to continue their privileges, by solicitations, by presents of betel, and other *gentle means*, induce them to return."§ Another appellation given to the Tamil Parias is that of *Sam-*

* See Macpherson, Campbell, McVicar, and Frye, in published statements and reports to the Government of India *passim*.

† *Comp. Gram.*, p. 496-7.

‡ *Replies, etc., Relative to Mirási Right*, Appendix lxxxi.

§ *Ih.*, lxxxii.

bhava, or *Vira Sambhava*, "beloved of Siva." At Trivalúr, twenty-two miles south of Combaconam in Tanjore, at the festival of Siva as *Tiyagaráyar*, the head *vetti* or Paria mirasidar is mounted on the elephant with the god, and carries his *chouri* or fan. In like manner, according to Caldwell, "at the annual festival of *Egattál*, 'the one or only mother,' the tutelary goddess of the black town of Madras, when a *tali* or bridal necklace (equivalent to our wedding ring) is tied round the neck of the idol in the name of the entire community; a Paria is chosen to represent the people as the goddess bridegroom."*

The *Komatis* or mercantile caste of Madras, by long established custom, are required to send an offering of betel to the *chucklers* or shoemakers before contracting their marriages. This, through shame, they generally transmit secretly by night to avoid the ridicule which pronounces them to be *sambhandi*, or entitled to intermarry with the tanners! I found a similar custom in existence at Vizagapatam, where the Brahmans had to go through the form of asking the consent of the *Málas* to their marriages. Under British rule, the practice has fallen into disuse, and though the fact is indignantly repudiated by the Brahmans, it was vouched for by many of the oldest and most respectable citizens.

Occasionally a Paria may be found still retaining the honourable position of head of the village community. At a village in the Mudibahal Taluk of Sholapore, the name of which I forget, the *holiyar* Patel, although not allowed to preside within the choultry at the municipal councils, always handed up his staff, which was duly inducted into the seat of honour, while he himself took part in the discussion, sitting outside.

The physical characteristics of the Kond and the Paria are tolerably similar. Both are of a dark brown colour, with long, straight hair, which they tie in a knot on the top of the head. They are rather below than above the middle height, active and capable of enduring fatigue. In disposition they are lively, impulsive, somewhat irascible and noisy, but good-humoured; industrious when engaged in work, but ready to relinquish it when the pressure is removed, and to enjoy idleness and amusement. They are greatly addicted to drunkenness, and have little regard for truth. The language of the Konds, although a true Dravidian dialect, is further removed from Tamil, and the cognate dialects of Telugu, Canarese and Malayalim than they are from each other. But though a component part of the modern Tamil population, the Parias are unable to enunciate some of the true Tamil vocables, and either mispronounce

* *Comp. Gram.*, 497.

ther foreigners or omit them altogether. Dr. l remarks that "the national name of Tamilians, d Kanadis is withheld from them (the Parias) by *vendi* of the Dravidian languages, and conferred on the higher castes,"* with the exception of Neither, it may be added, are they ever called slaves," the term applied to all the other servile

logy of the name Paria is not very clear. Most erive it from *parai*, the tambour or tom-tom beaten or official village servants. But this instrument by a small section of them, and would hardly serve signation of a great and numerous race. In high m *pulaiyar* applied to them, is said to be from , "hence "vileness," but I should rather be inclined word from *pulam*, "land;" so in Canarese, where ad *holiyar*, in Hala-kannadi *poliyar*, I prefer the om *hola*, "a field, land," given by Wilson.†

word *Palaya* or *Paraya*, however, occurs as the athern people, in the oldest Indian record extant. Wilson's amended reading from the Kapurdagiri of Asoka's edict, engraved also on the rocks at atiyawar, and Dhauli in Cuttack, the following of the southern nations occurs:—"In all the sub-ories of the King Priyadasi, . . . and also in the untries, as (Choda) *Palaya* or *Paraya*, *Satyá putra*, , *Tamba pani*," etc. Here the *Parayas* are named entre of the Dravidian group, with *Cholas* or *Soras*, *Malabars*, *Singhalese*,—a reading which, if it holds es a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the nd nation.§

above facts may be deduced as probable conclu- he earliest known inhabitants of Southern India riginal race who worshipped local divinities, the s of earth, hill, grove, and limits, etc., to whom

ve Grammar, 497.

† Ellis's *Márisi Right*.

but it is true that *holu* signifies pollution. The same words elegu; *pola*, "land"; whence *polamu*, "a field"; *polimera*,

A similar word for land occurs in Hindi, *polach*, "arable s Glossary.

read *Palaya* at Kapurdagiri was rendered *Pida* and *Pada* ep in the Giruar tablet, and is lost from the disintegration t Dhauli; Chola is also effaced at Kapurdagiri. Wilson ection of these names with India on very insufficient grounds, at the names *Satyá putra* and *Palaya* are new and unknown. ination *putra*, the names may be considered to designate as countries, as in the familiar case of *Rajah putra* or *Rajput*.

they offered human sacrifices ; that they are now represented by the servile classes of the Dekhan, and by the Konds, Gonds, and other free tribes ; that the former were induced to substitute animal sacrifice for human victims, by contact with more civilised races, in the same manner as a similar process is now actually in process among the Konds.*

Another caste, which has been mentioned as taking an active part in the festival of the village goddess, viz., the Shepherds, appear to claim an antiquity next, or perhaps equal to, that of the servile classes. They are found throughout the greater part of the Dekhan in detached communities, or intermixed with the cultivating population, and are called *Kurumbars* in Tamil and Malayalam, *Kurubars* in Canarese, and *Dhanzars* in Hindi and Mahratta.

Although they have several divisions among themselves, and possess a distinct priesthood, they have no rigid caste rules, and are not particular with regard to food. Marriages are not contracted in childhood, but after the age of puberty, a practice abhorrent to the orthodox Hindus. They worship a god called *Bira*, *Bhyra* or *Bhairava*, and sacrifice to the spirits of ancestors, but they have no connection with the demon worship of the south. They are said to possess a *shaster* or sacred code of their own, but I never succeeded in procuring it.

Their employments are various ; those possessing flocks of sheep lead a half nomade life, moving about from place to place as they find pasture. The ryots often invite them to pen their flocks on the stubble for the sake of their manure.

They weave the black *kamlis* or blankets in such general use, and always wear them themselves. Many are ryots, and engaged in agriculture ; others work as labourers, or hold land as village militia, or engage in the local police on monthly pay. Some are found in Malabar in a state of prædial slavery ; others in Malabar and the forests of Salem collect jungle produce, fell timber, and pursue the precarious system of cultivation called *kumri*, clearing a patch of forest, burning the trees, taking one or two crops off the virgin soil, and then repeating the process in another locality. A considerable number are found about Harponhalli in the ceded districts, who bred horses, and served as troopers in the Mahratta armies.

* Macpherson's *Memorials of Service*, 98, 108, 131 ; Campbell's *Personal Narrative*, 120. Captain McVicar states, that sacrificing and non-sacrificing Konds reside in the same villages ; but the latter will not stir out during the seven days of the sacrifice, to show their abhorrence of it ; but, he adds, all the non-sacrificing people offer buffaloes or bullocks, with precisely the same ceremonies.—*Report to Supreme Government*, 26th April, 1851. Paragraphs 30, 77.

Diversified as are their occupations, and intermixed as they are with the general population, they agree in a remarkable uniformity of character which distinguishes them from all their neighbours, and especially from the Paria race. They are quiet and inoffensive, industrious, honest, and sincere. "Truthful as a *Dhangar*" is a proverb. At the first revenue settlement I ever made, a dispute arose between two ryots as to a matter of fact. The general voice at once pronounced in favour of one. Surprised, I inquired on what grounds? "Oh, a *Kurubar* always speaks the truth!" Such remarkable testimony struck me forcibly. I tested its accuracy on all occasions, and never had reason to doubt its correctness. Buchanan mentions several divisions of Kurubars with whom he met in his journey. One of these, he states, the Kad Kurubaru, or jungle Kurubars, are an extremely poor and wretched tribe, dwarfed in stature, and living in the greatest poverty. The ryots employ them to watch their fields by night, a service which they perform with the greatest fidelity and courage, having no other weapons than lighted torches, with which they rush at the elephants, or other wild beasts, and dashing the fire in their faces, put them to flight. "The whole are of such known honesty, that on all occasions they are entrusted with the custody of produce by the farmers, who know that the Kurubaru would rather starve than take one grain of what was given them in charge."*

In tracing relations between different races of men, where other and more direct grounds of comparison are not available, a similitude of moral attributes is not without value. Now, if another pre-Aryan race is found in distant parts of India displaying the same moral qualities which have been proved to belong to the Kurumbars—qualities, moreover, which are wanting in all other tribes—and if, in addition, they are found to agree in many social customs and religious observances, a *prima facie* case of identity may be assumed to be made out, calling at least for more careful investigation. Such a case is furnished by the Santals, a people inhabiting the valley of the Ganges, near the Rajmahal Hills, and extending probably much further.

The Santals were hardly known before the rebellion in 1855. The first notice of them I met with, was in a letter from a missionary in the *Calcutta Christian Spectator* of 1847, who, referring to a previous notice of them in a former number, thus continues, "the same people have been heard of in a still more northerly direction. A few days ago a company of Santals was accosted in the high road not far from Jellasoar. On inquiry

* *Buchanan's Journey*, ii, 128.

how they came to be so far from home, they told my informant, who, though not a Santal himself, but a Kurmbhi (a class who live much among the Santals), and who at once recognised them by their language, that they came from Lahore." He adds that the Santals are found among the Koles of Chota Nagpur, and that the Manda Bhumiya, a branch of the Kole family, speak nearly the same dialect, about three-fourths of the words being the same.

Another writer, Captain Sherwill, has given a full account of those at the base of the Rajmahal Hills.* He describes them as a semi-nomad race, extending from Cuttack across Mámbhúm to Petwaur, intermixed with the other inhabitants, and gradually encroaching on their lands, having increased from about forty villages in 1838, with about 3,000 souls, to 1,473 villages in 1851 with 82,795 souls.† "They are," he says, "a quiet, inoffensive, and cheerful race," with the physiognomy of the Koles and other hill tribes, "intelligent and obliging," "timid towards mankind," "but brave when confronted, with wild animals," "industrious cultivators of the soil," "unfettered by caste." The dress of the women is described exactly like that now used in the Carnatic. "The men swear by the tiger-skin; but to swear them at all is unpardonable, for the truth is by a Santal held sacred, offering in this respect a bright example to their lying neighbours the Bengalis."‡

The missionaries who have seen most of them, all agree in giving the same evidence. The Rev. Mr. Batsch, of the German Mission, says, "The character of these people is naturally mild and submissive, and more simple and upright than that of the Hindu or Mussulman." Another missionary states their character to be universally mild, affable, and noted for *veracity*.§ There are several divisions among them, one of which, their priests, form a distinct class; || they sacrifice fowls, sheep, goats, and hogs, principally, it would seem, to the spirits of deceased ancestors; they believe in witchcraft; marriages are not contracted in childhood; when a man dies without issue his younger brother marries the widow.¶

They showed none of that want of courage, described above by Captain Sherwill, during the rebellion. A correspondent of a Madras newspaper** tells a touching instance of a Santal, who when retreating before a party of sepoy, with his child under his arm, repeatedly faced his pursuers, laying down the

* *Jour. As. Soc.*, Bengal, xx, 547.

† They now exceed 2,000,000 souls.—*Times*, Nov. 20th, 1868.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 350.

§ *Calcutta Christian Observer*, viii.

|| *Sherwill*, p. 408-10.

¶ *Ib.*, p. 582.

** *Madras Christian Herald*, May 27th, 1857.

boy and discharging his arrow; at last, in spite of every effort to save him, he fell dead, and the officer commanding the detachment took up the boy unhurt, and made him over to the missionaries. "They did not understand yielding," writes Major Jervis, another officer employed in quelling the outbreak, "as long as their national drums beat, the whole party would stand and allow themselves to be shot down. . . . When their drums ceased, they would move off for about a quarter of a mile, then their drums began again, and they calmly stood until we came up. . . . They were the most *truthful* set of men I ever met with, brave to infatuation." This use of the big drum or *dhol*, which Captain Sherwill calls the Santal drum, affords another coincidence with the Kurumbars of the South.*

I must add in proof of their fidelity to their word, an incident taken from the *Friend of India*. A number of prisoners made during the insurrection, and confined in Alipore jail, became sickly, and were offered their liberty to cut down the jungle on the Mutlah, for wages, on condition that they would give their parole not to escape. They demanded two days for consultation. At the end of that period each man gave his word, and they were marched to the scene of their labour. After some time information was brought to the magistrate of the 24. Pergunnahs that they had disappeared, none knew whither. Half incredulous he was about to order a pursuit, when the savages made their appearance at the jail, gravely handed over their earnings to the guard, placed their little bundles in security, and, squatting down, waited for the magistrate. On Mr. Fergusson's arrival their story was soon told. Cholera had broken out among them. The water did not agree with them. They must retreat. But they had given their parole, and they had come back to jail rather than violate their word. Their tale was true. Their number was correct, and two hundred savages, with money in their girdles, had really walked thirty miles to jail to keep a promise.†

The statement, that Santals from Lahore were met with in Orissa, may refer to the *Ahirs* or shepherds from the North-west, who are scattered over a great extent of country, just as are the Kurumbars of the South. Sir Henry Elliott thinks they may be connected with the Pala or Shepherd dynasties who reigned in Bengal, and if inscriptions may be trusted, were once universal monarchs of India.‡ The Ahirs are the Abhiras of the puranas, and according to Ferishta, who derives the name

* *Madras Christian Herald*, pp. 570, 572.

† *Friend of India*, xxii, 362-3.

‡ *Supplementary Glossary*, p. 6, quoting *As. Rev.*, ix, 438.

of Asirghar from Asa Ahir, they must have been of importance in the Dekhan also.

The suggestion thrown out by Sir Henry Elliott receives support from the puranas, which make mention repeatedly of a shepherd race, the Palli, as having once overspread the whole of India. They will be further noticed in the sequel.

But to return to the Kurumbars. There is ample evidence to show that they were once a numerous and powerful people. In Malabar, where an extensive district is still called Kurumbar Nádu, they are mentioned as having been independent princes, and their name is found attached to places in many other parts of the country. In the Carnatic they formed a federal community of twenty-four states or castles, the position and extent of which have been carefully traced and identified by Mr. Ellis.* This republic, if it may be so called, was destroyed, the people massacred, and their castles razed by one of the Chóla kings of Tanjore, in the fifth or sixth century. He changed the name of the district to Tondamandalam, and established a new capital at Conjevaram. The records of every village accountant are filled with details of this revolution, and several narratives relating to it are found in the Mackenzie Collection of MSS. One of these gives a distorted, but in its general import probably correct, outline of the facts. The Kurumbars are there represented as having displaced an earlier wild race, who had first cleared the forest and settled there. The new comers, according to Brahminical writers, were a set of cruel murderers, without religion or any virtuous quality, living as shepherds, weavers, and traders. They built ships, engaged extensively in commerce, became wealthy, and maintained themselves successfully against their neighbours. In process of time a Jaina ascetic appeared amongst them, and converted them all to his faith. At last Adondai, son of the Chóla King of Tanjore, invaded them, but was defeated with great loss. Encouraged by a vision of Siva, he returned to the attack, took Porel, their capital, carried away the bronze gates of the palace, which he set up in the temple of Siva at Tanjore, and introduced the Vellalars and other Tamil colonists from the South.†

Another account describes the destruction of the city of

* The idea of an Indian republic may seem strange to those only accustomed to the despotisms of recent times. But see Caldwell's Records of the Primitive Tamul Mind and Manners, as deduced from ancient vocabularies of the language.—*Comp. Gr.* Also, Ellis's *Mirasi Right*, Appendix xvii, quoting Wilks, with reference to the Indian village, in general, the germ of a perfect municipal system.

† *Mad. Jour. of Lit. Soc.*, vii, 310.

escape of the Kurumbars by sea; the despair of the loss of the arts, of which they were the only and the means he took to recal some of the exiles the sect of *Panchalar*.*

ave a consistent description of a pastoral people, Idwell has well identified with the *Σωροι νομάδες* in Artakur district of Ptolemy, gradually attaining to of civilisation, converted to Buddhism by the mis-Asóka, and annihilated in the well-known persecuted in the total destruction of the sect. It is assign a true date to this event. Sankarachárya, ahman reformer, is placed by some in the sixth, the eighth, and even tenth centuries. It is doubtful whether there were one or two great Buddhist persecutors that the work of extermination was carried on cruelty, is admitted by all.†

er occasion, I endeavoured to identify the tombs of Southern India, and now called Pandu Kulis, of the various races, of whom so many embraced Buddhism. The state of art exhibited by the articles discovered at these sites, accords with the known superiority attained by the Hindus in civilisation. But it was only the more primitive communities that reached an eminence high enough to draw the vengeance of their adversaries. Many remained in their original simple condition. Possibly they had accepted the tenets of Buddha, and secluded from the world continued to honour their ancestors and worship them, feeding their flocks and cultivating their fields in the same manner. One of these primitive communities, the Arakur (lit. hill-kings) survives unchanged to the present in the southern mountains of Travancore, numbering 1000 to 20,000. "Some," says a report of the Missionary Society, "are nomads or semi-nomads, their *cumari* cultivation, and living in huts concealed in the mountains, above the reach of wild beasts. Others are villages beautifully situated among the mountains, from 1000 to three thousand feet above the sea, but not accessible. They worship the *dii loci* and the spirits of the former residing in peaks, trees, and great rocks. Each village has its priest, who performs sacrifice to

The *Panchalar*, or the five classes of modern artificers, will be mentioned here.

At a temple at Trivatur, not far from Madras, are covered up the bodies of the execution of Buddhists by the most horrible tortures being impaled alive and left to be devoured by dogs &c. Drawings of these were exhibited at the meeting.

the hill deity, and under his influence works himself into a state of frantic prosession.* They bury in cromlechs like those of Coimbatore, constructed of four stones and a covering one.† In this is included a metal image or an oblong stone, in which the spirit of the deceased is supposed to dwell. It is deposited with offerings of milk, of ghee, etc.; a torch is lighted and then extinguished, and the top-stone put on, which is thenceforward undisturbed. They have sacred groves where the greatest reverence and silence are observed. They are remarkable for their simplicity," continues the report, "and innocent character, for their regard of truth, and their freedom from the coarse and filthy expressions in use among the Hindus. Their great vice is drunkenness; they are great hunters."

Notwithstanding the many coincidences above noted between the Kurumbars and the Santals, pointing to a common origin, we are met by a formidable argument against this conclusion in the fact, that the former speak a true Dravidian dialect even when least mixed with the predominant population, whilst that of the latter belongs to what Mr. George Campbell has well distinguished as the Kolarian group of languages. We know too little of the affinities of these tongues to attempt any explanation of this anomaly, but it is not the only instance of a Dravidian race using a foreign dialect, as will be shown in the case of the Mahrattas.

When considering the physical characters of the South Indian population, we must not lose sight of the influence which Buddhism has had in producing a fusion of races. The apostles of Asoka naturally met with greater success in diffusing their doctrines among the simple people of the South than among the better instructed nations of the North, already largely leavened with Brahminical lore, and attached to their Aryan faith.

The absence of caste restrictions for a period of six or eight centuries, must have tended greatly to modify the salient features of race, and it is only among the secluded sections of the same people that we can expect to find these characters preserved.

It must also be remembered that it is hardly possible to exterminate a whole race, so as to leave not a vestige of it; and this is especially true of a religious persecution. The horrors of martyrdom, and such martyrdom as represented at Tiruvatur,

* Sherwill describes a similar scene among the Santals, p. 571.

† The same practice also subsists among the Gottas, a tribe of Gonds on the Godavery.—*Jubulpoor Reports*.

crowds of the timid, not only to flight, but to numbers would embrace the Brahminical tenets. Others would strive to satisfy conscience by doing good. Among the latter will be found the class of *Kansalis*, comprising workers in metal and iron, braziers, ironsmiths, carpenters, statuaries,

Being so necessary to the community, they have been spared on condition of conforming to Brahminical usages. They, therefore, nominally acknowledge Vishnu or Siva, and submit to the presence of their images at some of their ceremonies, but they hate them and nourish an enmity which sometimes breaks out into open hostility. Though acquiescing outwardly, they are really under the guidance of their own Gurus, and have their own tenets, which, however, are kept carefully concealed. So I had an opportunity of being serviceable to a Brahmin, who was fiercely opposed by the Brahmans of the place to his disciples. He was chary at first in communicating his tenets, but admitting that the worship of Siva was false, he gave me a drawing of a hammer, chisel, and the tools furnished to them by Viswakarma, as the objects of their admiration. Being pressed, he subsequently presented me with this drawing of a sitting figure, evidently taken from that of Bud-



the five classes." The Hindus are partial to a five-fold arrangement. We have *pancha-janya* and *pancha-kshiti* in the Vedas, for the twice-born, and the slaves, or for five families, *apud Lassen*;

Further inquiry proved this to be the truth, and furnished an explanation of the enmity subsisting between the Panchalar and the orthodox Hindus. It further disclosed the origin of a remarkable feud, which divides the whole Hindu population of the South into two factions of the right and left-hand castes, and which is nothing else than the occasional outbreak of the smouldering antagonism of Brahminism and Buddhism, although in the lapse of ages both parties have lost sight of the fact. The points on which they split now are mere trifles, such as parading on horseback or in a palankeen in processions, erecting a *pandal* or marriage-shed on a given number of pillars, and claiming to carry certain flags, etc. The right-hand party is headed by the Brahmans, and includes the Parias, who assume the van, beating their tom-toms when they come to blows. The chiefs of the left hand are the Panchalars, followed by the Pallars and workers in leather, who sound their long brass trumpets, and engage the Parias. The records of the courts are full of litigation between the two parties, and their differences have frequently broken out into open violence, leading sometimes to loss of life. It is probable that the Jainas, who are now by the common people confounded with the Buddhists, derive their origin from the same great religious persecution. Their creed, in many respects, resembling that of the Buddhists, with the addition of very rigid observance of caste, which, by satisfying the Brahmans, probably secured their safety.

Other proselytising castes have also helped to obliterate distinctions of race, as the Lingayats founded by Paria reformers in the tenth century, who are now very numerous in the Dekhan, and are no longer considered impure; the Seiks in the Punjab, the Kabir-pantis, and many others.

There is a third well-defined race mixed with the general population, to which a common origin may probably be assigned; I mean the predatory classes. In the South they are called Poligars, and consist of the tribes of Marawars, Kallars, Bedars, Ramusis; and in the North are represented by the Kólis of Guzerat, and the Gujars of the North-west Provinces.* All of these present the same characters, physical and moral; being brave, athletic, warlike, addicted to robbery, and fond of the chase, in which they make use of a

panch-goura and panch-dravida, already noticed; panch-bandam, the five slave castes, apud *Buchanan Jour.*, i, 19, 20.

* Sir R. Temple, in his Report on Berar, 1865-6, includes Ráhtores and Minas.

curved stick, throwing it with great dexterity like a *bome-rang*. They possess a skill in tracking men or beasts, equalled only by that of the North American Indian; and are unrivalled in the ingenuity with which they evade the most watchful vigilance in their plundering excursions. They exist in numerous, independent communities, situated in the less accessible parts of the country, yielding a nominal obedience to the ruling power of the time, and paying a small tribute when the Government is strong enough to enforce it. From their fastnesses they plunder the surrounding plains in time of trouble, or exact black mail to purchase exemption from their inroads. With the same view every village engaged the services of one of these, who was invested with the office of village watchman, and received remuneration in land and fees, for which he not only protected the place from the visits of his friends, but tracked and seized all other depredators. Travelers, if they would proceed in safety, also engaged the services of one of these men, or failing to do so, were certainly plundered. They have never risen to sovereign power, but have established many small principalities,* which have survived the rise and fall of kingdoms, both Hindu and Mohammedan. Many tales are related of their successful plunder of military detachments, because trusting to their discipline, with extra vigilance and double sentries, they refused to hire the Kallar or Koli watchman. When the Carnatic passed from the Nawábs of Arcot to the British, an organised system of exaction was in existence, which, being incompatible with good government,† was abolished, and commutations in land, money, or abatement of tribute, were given in lieu; but the services of the village watchmen were retained. This, however, was not effected without determined resistance, which led to the Poligar wars, and lasted several years. One dumb chief named Kotta Bomma Naik made a memorable defence of his fort at Panjalam Kurchi, in Tinnivelly, in 1802-3. On three several occasions his sturdy pikemen beat back the British detachments sent to reduce the place, and it was only by the despatch of a small army,

* As the Bédar Rajas of Bednore or Nagar in Mysore; of Harponhalli, etc., in the Ceded Districts; the Matta-Ráchawar chief of Carvatinagar, and the Tondiman, Rája of Puducótah, a Kallar chief, in Arcot; the Marawár chiefs of Ramnád, and Sivagunga in Madura; and numerous others scattered over the whole of the south. Many of these exercised the privilege of coining money, which bore the impress of Siva and Parvati, or of Durga.

† See *Proceedings* of the Madras Government for the abolition of Mén-Kával Fees. The Mén-Kávalgárs were the Poligar Chiefs; the Sthála Kávalgárs were the village watchmen or Táliyaris, *quasi* Sthaliyaris or local guardians.

including Europeans and heavy guns, that it was taken at last.*

There can be little doubt that if the arm of the Government should be weakened, all these tribes would resume their predatory habits. During the mutiny of 1857, the Gujar villages near Delhi, which had been long engaged in agriculture and other peaceful occupations, at once resumed their turbulent and rapacious instincts. Unless thoroughly reformed, they will continue to be an element of danger in times of difficulty.

Some differences are observable among the tribes I have placed together under the predatory class. The Bedars, who are very numerous, are larger in stature, and more addicted to robbery by violence. The Bhils, too, have been omitted, partly because I have never seen them and partly because they appear to claim a greater antiquity. The others, from the worship of Siva and Durga generally professed by them, may be descended from those Indo-Scythian invaders who, under Kadphises and Kanerki, established themselves for a time in North India, and even penetrated into the Dekhan, and probably established themselves at various points. One of these places I discovered by means of the coins still found at Joghar in the Ganjam district. These coins† belong clearly to the Kadphises group, though not identical with any described; and I have also obtained undoubted Kadphises coins in the bazars of Madras, Trichinopoly, and Masulipatam.

The Bhils, with all the predatory habits above mentioned, are stated to be a smaller race, and to worship chiefly the spirits of their ancestors. The mythical origin ascribed to them in the Puranas associates them with the Nishádas,‡ whose name, according to Lassen, implies that they are colonists, or original settlers, and must therefore be considered as aborigines.

The last division of the Dravidian family presenting marked peculiarities that I wish to notice, is that of the demon worshippers of the extreme south, the principal tribe among whom is the Shánars. I can only allude to them generally, not having a personal acquaintance with them. They have, however, been well and fully described by Dr. Caldwell. Although fewer in

* A romantic incident is connected with this siege. The heart of the Bruce in its silver shrine had long been in the family of Sir Alexander Johnstone, late Chief Justice of Ceylon. Its fame had reached the Marawar chief, and, believing it to be a talisman of sovereign virtue, he despatched some of his most skilful followers to steal it. It was found in the fort, and restored to its owner, but was afterwards lost in France.

† Figured in *Madras Journal*, Lit. and Sc., vol. xx, p. 76.

‡ From *nisha*, "to sit down".

number than the classes already noticed, they may probably be found to have an antiquity equal to, or higher than, any of them. It is not improbable that in them we shall discover the descendants of the Paisácha and Rákshasa races. The history and fate of these ancient, and now much maligned people, driven to the furthest verge of India by external pressure, is a subject of the deepest interest. Were they rude savages, or had they attained a considerable degree of civilisation? Indications in favour of the latter supposition will be noticed presently.

The worship of the Pai or Pey (i.e., *demon*), though confined essentially to the south, has infected the other religious systems of India. Fear of the enmity of malevolent beings is common to all superstitious minds. In sickness or calamity, men fly to the altars of the angry spirits, and strive to appease their displeasure by offerings of blood. "The Brahmans," says Buchanan, "abhor this kind of worship, and call all these gods of the vulgar, evil spirits, *saktis*, or ministers of Siva, and never sacrifice to them. . . . Influenced, however, by superstition, although they condemn the practice, they in sickness occasionally send an offering of fruit or money to these deities; but ashamed to do so publicly, the offering is generally conveyed by some child, who may be supposed to have made it by mistake. The small temples of these deities are very numerous, and the pujáris are generally of impure caste. I am inclined, indeed, to believe that they are the original gods of the country, and that these impure castes are the remains of the rude tribes that occupied the country before the origin of the Brahmans and other sects, that introduced forms of worship more complicated, and more favourable to the priesthood."*

In the course of his journey, he met with several examples of the superstition among castes not demon worshippers.† The Bants of Canara believe that persons meeting with a violent death become Paisachis. Two rude slave castes in Tulava, the Bakadára and Betadára, worship a benevolent deity named Búta, represented by a stone kept in every house; the spirits of the dead are thought to become Paisáchis, who must be restrained from troubling them by sacrifice to Búta.‡ The Curumbalen,§ another slave caste who worship the hill god (Malai-déva) and the spirits of deceased ancestors, burn their dead if good men, and bury them if bad; the latter become demons, requiring to be conciliated by sacrifice. The Canarese inhabitants of Mysore and the southern Mahratta country be-

* *Journey through Mysore*, i, 249; ii, 59.

† *Buch. Jour.*, iii, 106-7.

‡ *Ib.*, iii, 17.

§ *Ib.*, ii, 497.

lieve that the spirits of unmarried persons, of the unchaste, of those meeting with a violent death, etc., become malignant ghosts called Virikas, who are appeased by offerings. I met with a similar superstition in the Telugu country in 1853. A wealthy Kamma ryot in the Masulipatan district had married a second wife. She died suddenly, and the report spread that she had been murdered. The case was investigated by the magistrate, and no evidence of foul play being forthcoming, the man was released. But the suspicion gained ground. One day the wife of a *gaoli*, or cowkeeper, became possessed with the spirit of the deceased, and in her name denounced the husband. Soon the wife of a weaver also personated her, and described the circumstances of her murder. The delusion spread. Each woman, when seized, took the name of the deceased, and called for vengeance. Sacrifices were offered to pacify her spirit; a temple was built in her honour; and she became an acknowledged deity under the name of Gouri-Perintálu;* offerings poured in from all parts of the country, and pilgrims visited her shrine from great distances. I took some pains to investigate the character of the possessed women, and found them to have been ordinarily free from excitement or other extravagance.

The Hálapaiks, a fine race, dwelling in Sirci or Upper Canara, and the Bilawáris below the Ghats, appear to be nearly allied to the Shánars. It will be worth while to inquire whether the palmyra-climbers in other parts of the country have any connection with them.

The rest of the people of the south comprise an endless variety of castes, all included under the general term of *varana-sankara*, or mixed castes (literally colours), indicating, even in their own familiar speech, the complete amalgamation of races that took place during the Buddhist period.

The most influential sections of these are the agricultural classes—comprising the Vallazhars, or Vallálars, and Mudaliyárs among the Tamils; the Kammawárs and Reddis among the Telugus; the Okkaligás or Wokkals among the Canarese; and the Kúmbis among the Mahrattas. These are all now under Brahminical control, and maintain the caste observances of purity and impurity, early marriages, and other institutions of Manu. They do not confine themselves to the cultivation of the soil, but many of them engage in military service, and make good soldiers. The Tamil farmers were brought from the valley of the Caveri into the Arcot district by the Chola

* Gouri was her own name. *Perintalu*, lit., means “a wife”, a “domestic woman”; but it is also very generally applied, *par excellence*, to deified females. Many of the small temples in Telugu villages are dedicated to goddesses so called, and having a similar origin.

kings, who conquered the Kurumbars and extirpated Buddhism. They already possessed numerous agrestial slaves, and probably added to their number on that occasion: they now occupy the whole of the Coromandel coast.* The Kammas and Reddis, on the contrary, came from the north. Dr. Caldwell has satisfactorily proved that the Telugu race was originally settled on the Ganges. By the Tamils they are invariably styled *varugas*, or *vadakas*, "northerners." They are a taller, finer race than the Tamils, Canarese, or Mahrattas, and exhibit a considerable infusion of Aryan blood, especially among the Reddis, who are often fair and handsome, and are distinguished for their energy and agricultural enterprise. They have pushed their colonies into the Canarese and Tamil districts, and are found in small scattered communities even to Tinnevely. The chiefs of the Telugu country below the Ghats are not Poligars of the predatory class, but a tribe of Rájputs, called Ráchawárs, or Rájawárs, a remarkably fine handsome race. Notwithstanding some defects in their genealogy, they are admitted, somewhat charily it is true, to alliance by marriage with the Rájputs of Hindustan. All the other castes are more or less black, and exhibit the true Hindu type. They probably brought their slaves from the north along with them when settling in the Circars, and mixing with the earlier inhabitants. The Málas hold exactly the same position as the Parias, but the derivation of the name is unknown. The Puranic geographical lists place a people called Málas on the north-east of Bengal. Their country still bears the name of Mál-bhúm in the Midnapore district, hard by the original seat of the Telingas. It is possible that the latter may have acquired their slaves in a war with the Málas.

The Canarese have a strong affinity to the Tamils and Malayáls, both in physical form and language. They do not, however, admit a common origin, and apply to them the name of Tigalas. The Lingayat creed, which was founded by Parias in the twelfth century, sprang up among the Canarese, and possesses numerous votaries among them, and also among the Telugus. It admits proselytes, and therefore has contributed to the amalgamation of races. The Kumbis and the great body of the Mahratta people have little in physical appearance to

* Coromandel is the corruption of Chola, or Sora Mandalam. I cannot admit Dr. Caldwell's derivation of it from the miserable little fishing hamlet of Karu-manal. The confusion of terms has arisen from the difficulty of writing the name Sola, or Sora, or Sozha, in Roman characters. The letter expressed by *r*, *l*, and *zh*, is unpronounceable by Europeans, and the initial letter is indifferently *s* or *ch*. Hence, some have written Sola-mandalam, others Chola-mandalam, Sora-mandalam or Choramandalam; and the English custom of pronouncing *ch* hard, led to the accepted form of Coromandel.

distinguish them from the classes above mentioned, especially from the Canarese. But their language is Gaurian, not Dravidian.* Yet the southerners always place Mahārashtra in the Panch Dravida class.† With the general squat, stout figure, and dark complexion of their Canarese neighbours, so that it is difficult, until they speak, to distinguish one from the other, they exhibit the same diversity of feature found amongst all the mixed classes of the south. They have their slave section too, represented by the Mhārs and Māngs, many of whom served as soldiers in the Mahratta armies, as well as their masters. The Hūl-sawārs, or Paria horsemen, mounted on the household (*pāgah*) horses of Scindia and Holkar, were among the finest cavalry of those chiefs. The Mahratta Brahmans are distinguished for their courage as military leaders in the native armies, and for ability as men of business. They have monopolised the civil administration under every rule, and were equally employed by the Mahomedan kings of the Dekhan; by the Hindu sovereigns of Bijanagar and Nagpore; by Hyder and Tippoo; and by the English. They are distinguished by the name of Desasths or Deshasths, from *des* “the country” *par excellence*, which may be rendered “native Brahmans”, quasi-converted from the natives. In appearance they are true Dravidians, with every variety of form and colour, but never approaching the fair skin of the Konkanasts, with whom they do not intermarry.

The subject of language is one of great difficulty; much has been done of late to investigate the aboriginal dialects, but much more remains to be accomplished. The origin of the Hindi dialect has not, as far as I can see, been ever successfully traced. It is now so overlaid with Sanscrit in one form, with Persian and Arabic in another, and with Dravidian peculiarities in a third, that its distinctive features have been greatly obscured. Yet in grammatical structure, by its inflected positions, by its causal verbs, by the use of the particle *ne* which puzzled Gilchrist as apparently “a redundant expletive,” and other peculiarities, it presents marks of a distinct language, which must at one time have been spoken in its purity by the people of Northern and Central India.

The inhabitants of Malabar, who seem to form an exceptional class, demand a distinct notice. From their situation in the extreme south-west of India, they have been little disturbed,

* Hislop gives a similar instance in the Badiyas and Halwas of Gondwana, p. 21.

† Southern writers also include Gujarashtra or Guzarat among the Panch-Dravida. But the Gujaratis exhibit a much larger admixture of northern blood.

and the external influences to which they have been exposed, have been produced more by the peaceful inroads of commerce than by the aggressions of war.

Notwithstanding the same diversity of caste as in other provinces, they all agree in one remarkable usage—that of transmitting property through the females only (*makkal santan*).

Lieutenant Conner, who surveyed the province of Travancore in 1832, and has given a full description of the various castes and their customs,* mentions only one, the Ponans, a branch of the Ilavars or Tirs from Ceylon, which has not conformed to the practice. Neither has it been wholly adopted by the Namburi Brahmans, among whom the elder brother only marries, the unmarried females being carefully secluded, and many never marrying at all. But among all the other castes a sister's son inherits the family estate, and this holds good even with the Moplahs, who profess Islamism, and in other respects conform to the Mohammedan law.

The origin of a custom so singular is dependent on another practice still more revolting to the general feeling and usage of mankind—viz., the existence of polyandry among the Nairs and some other castes of Malabar. A few other instances occur above the Ghats, as among the people of Coorg, the Todas of the Nilagiri hills, the Kapillis,† a tribe inhabiting the Dindigul valley, and the Abbé Dubois observed it among the Tottis, a Pariah race of Mysore.

Still, the question arises how to account for an institution so abnormal, and unknown equally to the aboriginal races and to their Aryan successors?

The Malayalam traditions attribute the settlement of the province, on its present footing, to an extensive colonisation under Parasurama. The Malabar æra professes to date from him, and is said to have originated in 1176 B.C.,‡ but as it is repeated in cycles of 1000 years each, of which the current one is assumed to be the third, it seems probable that conformably to Hindu usage, a mythical antiquity has been assigned to that hero's expedition.

Now, the practice of polyandry prevails in Thibet and among the people of the Khassia hills,§ to the present day, and al-

* *Madras Journal*, vols. i and ii.

† This is stated on the authority of the late Captain S. Best, Madras Engineers, a careful and accurate observer. The name of the caste is evidently derived from *aka*, a sister, and *pillai*, a child—sister's son.

‡ See Wilson's *Glossary*, voce Parasurama. The same tradition is detailed fully in the Syahâdri section of the Skanda Purana.

§ *Calcutta Review*.

though there is nothing to show whence Parasurāma drew his followers, it may be that they came from these more northerly regions bringing the remarkable social institutions in question with them.

The new settlers doubtless became intermixed with the original inhabitants, for the Hindu character is unmistakably impressed on the mass of the people. But there are likewise many traces along the whole coast, from Bombay to Cape Comorin, of the settlement of foreign traders, indicating extensive dealings between Western India, and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. The large number of coins of Augustus, Tiberius, and later emperors, found in Malabar and Coimbatore, point to a considerable intercourse with Rome. A colony of Nestorians from Antioch was early established in the districts south of Goa. The Jews of Cochin hold copper *s'asanams* of a king of Kérala, attested by witnesses signing their names in archaic Hebrew, Cufic and Pehlivi, about the sixth or seventh century. They form two sections, the white Jews, who are very fair and of pure descent from the original stock, and the black Jews, who are dark and probably native proselytes. Many families professing Judaism are scattered through the Southern Konkan. They are not Jews, but more probably Samaritans calling themselves Beni Israel. The Hindus give them the name of *Senaiwar-telis* or "Saturday oil-mongers," because they generally engage in pressing and selling oils. They also serve in the ranks of the British army, and make excellent sepoy. The two Mahometan travellers who visited India in the ninth century found prosperous Arabic factories all round the coast. One of these became a considerable principality under the name of Maabir. Its exact position has not yet been determined, but it must have been in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin. The two travellers resided for some time at the court of the Sultan, who appears to have possessed a considerable extent of territory, and to have maintained relations with the Pandiyan kings. No incidents of its history have been preserved. The only traces left of its existence even, are the mongrel pedlars, half Musalmāns, half Hindus, called *Labbis*, who travel about the Carnatic selling coral, gems, and hardware. The Shiyah Sultans of Bejapur imported numbers of Abyssinian slaves, several of whom rose to eminence, and the descendants of many who had received lands on military tenure survive unchanged, intermarrying only among themselves. A similar policy was pursued by the Moghul emperors, and the Habshi admiral of Aurangzeb's fleet, which was chiefly manned by Africans, held the Jagir of Jinjirah in the Konkan, still enjoyed by his descendants. By the introduction of the

handsome Hindu women of the coast into the harem, the present Jagirdar exhibits but little signs of his negro origin, but the African features are preserved by his followers.

The Brahmans of the Konkan, who have become celebrated by the superiority they acquired over the Mahrattas, but must not be confounded with the Mahratta Brahmans proper, the Shenavis, an inferior set of Brahmans, who indulge in a fish diet, and some other castes of the same province, have very fair complexions, accompanied in many cases by grey or hazel eyes, which point to a European origin.*

The legend of the Skanda Puran on this point is worth mentioning. Parasurama, having destroyed the Kshatryas and defiled the land with blood, could find no Brahman pure enough to aid him in the duty of sacrifice, but looking from the summit of the mountains, he espied fourteen bodies of white men, which, with a camel, had been floated ashore. He resuscitated the former, and they founded the fourteen *gotras* of Konkani Brahmans. The camel remained on the beach, where it was found by a magician searching for a Brahman to assist him in his incantations. He created a man out of the dead bones, and made him a Brahman, from whom descend the Karadi Brahmans in Sattara, a race long subject to the evil reputation of sacrificing strangers.† Parasurama afterwards found three more corpses in the Northern Konkan, who were also transformed into Brahmans, founders of as many families, from one of which, the Chittpawan, the Peishwas descend.

The views hazarded in the preceding observations differ from many received opinions, and are offered with much diffidence. The origin and affinities of the classes comprising the Indian population are still involved in obscurity. It is even a question to which of the great divisions of the human family they are to be assigned. Hodgson broadly includes all under the two types of Aryans and Tamilian, which is intelligible enough. But then he goes on to define the latter as derived from the Mongols, and sees a Mongolian origin distinctly inscribed on the face of every man of aboriginal (or pre-Aryan) race.

Others, as Professor Max Müller, Dr. Logan, and various local authorities quoted by Mr. George Campbell, place some of the wilder tribes among the negro race.

* When Sir Thomas Munro acquired possession of the Southern part of the Peishwas dominions, as much by policy as by force, many Konkanasts were holding office in the district. It used to be a joke with the Mahratta Brahmans to quiz them, by pointing to the English soldiers and asking them if they recognised their brethren!

† See Sir John Malcolm's account of them in *Transactions, Lit. Soc. Bom.*, vol. iii, p. 86.

Dr. Caldwell, referring to the great variety of feature, colour, etc., and to the influence of caste restrictions and climate, finds no indication either of the Mongol or negro type among the Dravidians.

Mr. Hislop has never found an instance of negro physiognomy among the barbarous people of Central India, but considers both their hair and features to be decidedly Mongolian.

As far as my own observations extend, I agree with Dr. Caldwell, and I have probably had larger opportunities of making them than he has. I can speak of the Carnatic from Tanjore north through the greater part of the Western Dekhan, both above and below the Ghats, of Guzarat and the Southern Rajputs as far as Mount Aboo, of Kutch, and Katyawar; and on the east coast, of the whole of the Circars as far as Orissa and the country of the Konds. Throughout this range I have never observed, during forty years' sojourn, any indications of true Mongolian features. Still less have I seen any signs of negro blood, save in the instances already mentioned of imported Africans on the western coast. On the other hand, I have been struck with the remarkable diversity of form and feature observable among every class of the population. Take for instance the Brahmans, whether Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, or Deshast. Some will be found of a clear, light brown colour; others as black and dusky as any field Pariah; some with fine tall figures, and sharply cut, aquiline features; others with heavy, stout, ungainly forms, and a thick, flat, coarse physiognomy, befitting the contumelious epithet of "goat face," applied to the Dasyas. It would puzzle a stranger to point out the distinctions between a group of Panchalars (artisans), Kanakapillis (writers), Buljawars, and Komatis (merchants), and an equal number of Brahmans. The same diversity runs through all the castes. Many Parias are very fair and tall, with good, prominent, sharp-cut features; others are black and squat, with the lowest and most debased cast of countenance. But all converge to a common type, one *sui generis*, which might almost entitle the Hindu to be recognised as a distinct family of mankind.

I consider it a mistake to attribute any marked influence on existing forms to Aryan blood, except in the few special cases that have been mentioned. The Aryans never penetrated to the south in force. The great northern invasion of Rama, [which I take to be that of Parasurama], is vividly impressed on popular tradition, but his march was directed to the southwest. He certainly overran the western provinces below the Ghats, overcame the aborigines, exterminated the higher

classes, introduced foreigners, and established a totally new order of things. His course probably extended to Cape Comorin, whence he drove Ravana, the native ruler, and many of his followers into Ceylon. Some of them appear to have returned at a later period, the ancestors of some of the castes of Tinnevely, and of the Tiyars of Malabar.

It is doubtful whether Parasurama himself was an Aryan; he was certainly not a Brahman. When the great Aryan schism took place, which led to the struggle for superiority between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, the military prowess of the latter compelled the Brahmans to court the alliance of the aboriginal chiefs by the grant of social privileges. Among these Parasurama was the chief. He is represented exterminating the Kshatriyas with his battle axe, the distinguishing weapon of the Konds; and when the Brahmans became masters of the situation, he appears to have sought new fields of enterprise in the South at the head of his native legions.

The only impression made on the rest of India was by Aryan missionaries, who came in small numbers, and in peaceful guise, to propagate their tenets. The strangers were too few to preserve their normal character, and hence probably the dictum of Manu, that Brahmans remaining in Dravada should be considered as Mlechas.

The similarity in appearance between the Southern Brahmans and the inferior Dravidian castes, seems to prove that when Agastiyar and the Aryan reformers introduced caste institutions, they had to create a new frame-work of society by raising some of their proselytes to the rank of Brahmans* and arranging the rest of the community in subordinate groups. The servile classes had probably been already enslaved, and would continue as before in the lowest place. It is by no means clear that Agastiya had to preach to a barbarous, uncivilised race. On the contrary, evidence is not wanting to show that the converts were already in possession of a literature and a

* The legend of Viswamitra and Vasishta in Muir's Sanscrit texts accords with this. Viswamitra, raised from an inferior class to the dignity of a Brahman, contended with the Brahman Vasishta for the office of priest to Saudasa, a *kshatriya* (aboriginal?) prince. The King favoured the latter until provoked by the arrogance of the Brâhmins. The son of Vasishta refused to make way for him in the road. Enraged, the King struck him, and was cursed by him as a cannibal. Viswamitra fomented the quarrel. Saudasa, to avenge the insult, first devoured [sacrificed] the offender, and then in succession all the hundred sons [disciples] of Vashista. But, in the end, the Brahmans triumphed, and Saudasa became a zealous convert. Here we see in the Brahminical narrative a native king practising the Meriah sacrifice, converted to Brahmanism by a twice-born missionary, and a man of lower birth raised to the same rank.—*Or. Sans. Texts*, Part i, Sect. xv.

written character of their own. The Sanscrit writers of the Skanda and Brahmanda puranas admit the existence of a Paisacha alphabet in the earliest times.* This must have been the Tamil. Its defective formation, both with regard to absent and redundant sounds, affords internal evidence of normal invention. On this the Lat or Devanagari character appears to have improved; and the more complete phonetic system, perfected in the North, has been adopted by all the southern nations except the Tamils. That they were derived from a common source, has been established by James Prinsep, from the identity of the letters found on a comparison of the oldest inscriptions in both characters.

The complete imposition of rigid caste laws was probably subsequent to the Buddhist persecution. For several centuries, under the mild and tolerant creed of Buddhism, the fusion of races must have been general. It was after caste became imperative, that particular characteristics, arising out of occupation, locality, etc., perpetuated by the law of natural inheritance, began to leave their mark. Still all are referable to a common type, characterised by a dark complexion, long hair, a compressed head, and small, delicate hands and feet.

Traces of certain customs prevalent among the aboriginal tribes are found among the more civilised mixed classes. Among these may be cited—

1. The marriage of girls after they attain the age of puberty, a custom looked upon with disgust by Brahmans and the higher castes. It has already been stated to exist among the Kurumbars. According to Buchanan, it also prevails among the Betta Kurumbas, "which by the higher orders is considered a beastly depravity;" by the Telugu Banijagar, a very numerous caste; by the Devanga, Jadar, and Kaikalur weavers, also very numerous; by the Palli, one of the most numerous Tamil castes; by the Halapaiks and Bilwaras, of Canara; by the Kansa Wokkals; by the Uparas or builders; by the Bedars; by the Lala-gundara; the Soligara,† etc., etc.

2. The marriage of widows, which is known by the name of *pat*, a term common to the Gonds and other races of Central India, particularised in the Jubbulpore ethnological report.

3. Among the Konds and several other tribes of Central

* The running hand of the Mahratta character or *Mori* is still called *Rakshasalipi* or "Rakshasa writing".

† *Buch. Jour.*, i, 241, 245, 349, 394; ii, 129, 241; iii, 52, 253, and *passim*.

India, the bridegroom seizes his bride by force, either affected or real.* This constitutes one of the eight kinds of marriage recognised by Hindu law, and is called the *rākshasa* marriage. According to the eighth kind, which is known as the *paisācha* marriage, the girl is carried off in a state of insensibility after being violated.†

4. Mr. Hislop refers to the worship among some Gonds of a deity called "*Matiya* (devil or whirlwind), against which Hindus lift up their shoe, and utter imprecations." The phenomenon of the whirlwind, or circular dust storms, still goes by the name of the *paisacha* or *pishash*, the familiar word for "devil" in Tamil districts.

5. Mr. Hislop and the Jubbulpoor report, classify the Central India tribes as worshippers of four, five, six, or seven gods. Generally the number is five, called by the names of the five Pándús, which have probably superseded more ancient appellations. In every part of Southern India, four or five stones may often be seen in the ryot's field, placed in a row and daubed with red paint, which they consider as guardians of the field and call the five Pándús. Buchanan mentions many instances of a similar kind. Thus the Palli, the Moorasu Koliyers, Uparas, and others honour Dharma Raja, the eldest of the Pandiyan brothers. Instead of this image they set up a rude stone or a lump of clay smeared with vermilion. According to Sir H. Elliot, the Bhangas or Parias of Hindustan, worship a god called Lal-guru or "red lord."‡

6. The custom among the Gonds of a poor man obtaining his wife by serving her father for a stated period called *lamjana* or *lamsaina*, is also found among the poorer Canarese ryots in the Southern Mahratta country.§

If the Paisacha race is not to be recognised in the Shánars or the slave population, they must be considered as extinct. Besides them, the geographical lists in the Puranas give the names of several races as existing at a more recent period. Among these the Palli or Pálas are conspicuous. Their dwelling places were called *pallis*, a name extant in the terminating syllable of many modern villages. The modern town of Palli in Marwar, and the ancient Siripala (quasi Sripalli) of Ptolemy, supposed to be near Bhopal, seem also to be connected with them. In the puranic lists they are generally associated with the Kiratas and Abhiras under the common name of shepherds. They are represented as located in all parts of India—north, central, and south; and in the *sthala-purānas* of the Macken-

* Jubbulpoor Rep. *Introd.*, p. 10.

† *Manu*, ch. iii, 20, 33, 34.

‡ *Glossary*.

§ Jubbulpoor Rept., Part i, pp. 5-7; Part ii, pp. 59-74, etc.

zic collection the Abhira dynasty of kings is frequently included.*

The earliest inscriptions extant date from the Christian era, or a little earlier, but those found south of the Vindhyan range are later. They belong chiefly to grants of land, etc., made by kings of the *Agni-kula* races, and as being the earliest contemporary records in existence, they afford the first gleam of authentic history.

The origin of the four Agni-kulas is similar to that of Parasurāma. They were individuals of an inferior class, invested with power by the Brahmans for a special purpose. Whether that purpose was to assist in the subjugation of the Kshatriyas, or whether, weakened by the annihilation of the military class, they were unable to contend with the aborigines, is doubtful. This much only is certain; they sought the assistance of these aliens. On the summit of Mount Aboo, they inaugurated a solemn festival, and consecrated four warriors by the sacrifice or offering to fire (*agni*), who became the founders of the Agni-kula and their descendants, the most powerful princes of India. Colonel Tod is doubtful whether they belonged to the Scythian invaders of northern India or to the aboriginal races, and decides in favour of the former, from the fair complexions of their descendants, and from the existence of the stone sepulchres and the barrows found in the Dekhan, a practice which he considered to be peculiar to the Scythians. But the complexion of the present generation is the natural consequence of long admixture with the Aryan Rājputs, amongst whom they were admitted by their regeneration, and the erection of cromlechs and tumuli has been proved to be a very ancient Hindu custom. On the other hand, many circumstances tend to identify them with the aborigines.

Of the four families, the Pramaras or Powars were the dominant class of the Vindhya mountains, the stronghold of the aborigines. The seats of their power were Ojain, Dhar, Mandu, etc., and among the princes of their race are included the celebrated names of Munja and Rāja Bhoja.†

2. The Chohans were originally rulers of Gurra Mundla, the seat of the Kól tribes. They extended their dominion first along the Nerbudda, but afterwards northward to Delhi, where their power culminated in Prithiraj, whose defeat by Shaháb-ud-din established the supremacy of the Mohommedans.‡

* It also occurs in one of the lists of the thirty-six royal races, given by *Tod, Ann.*, i, 80.

† *Tod, Ann.*, i, 91; ii, 440. One of my inscriptions states that Raja Munja was slain in a battle with a Chalukya King.

‡ *Tod*, i, 94; ii, 442-3. Tod adduces the use of the surname *Pal* by princes of this house as a proof of their connection with Palli or shepherd race.

3. The original seat of the Chalukyas is not known,* but they crossed the Nerbudda early in the fourth century, and established themselves in the Dekhan. The first people they encountered were the Pallavas, who defended themselves successfully, and defeated and slew Jai-Sing Chalukya.† But they finally succumbed, and appear to have gone to the south, and to have found refuge in the Chóla kingdom. Their name is found identified with the sculptures at Mavalipuram, or the Seven pagodas, south of Madras;‡ the Tondaman Rája of Puducotah in Arcot has assumed the title or surname of Pallava. The Chalukyas next conquered the Rattas, a still more powerful race, and reigned supreme over the Dekhan, from the Nerbudda to the frontiers of Tanjore, where their advance was checked by the Cholas. They flourished for nearly eight centuries, the main branch at Kalyan in the Nizam's dominions, and an offshoot at Rajamundry in the northern Circars. A third branch acquired the sovereignty of Anhalwára Patan in Guzerat.§ In the ninth century, the Rattas rose in rebellion and expelled the Chalukya dynasty for a period of seventy-five years; but in A.D. 973, Taila Deva Chalukya again recovered the throne of Kalyan.||

These details, which rest on the unassailable testimony of coteremporary records, present us with two important ethnological facts; first, that the Palla-vas or Palli, the great shepherd race, were flourishing in the Dekhan in the fourth or fifth century, and were found in the Carnatic in the fifth or sixth; and secondly, that the Rattas, another indigenous race, occupied a considerable portion of the Peninsula for several centuries, and must have left descendants. Several nobles of the Ratta race served the Chalukya princes, as shown by their inscriptions deposited with the Royal Asiatic Society. The name of the Mahrattas is commonly derived from the Sanscrit name of their country Maháráshtra, but it is more likely to be a perpetuation of the name of the most important people inhabiting the same locality, the Mahá-Rattas.

It is somewhat significant that the Chalukyas, although distinguished members of the Agni-kula, who are exalted by Chand, the Chohan bard, as "noblest among the royal races, because the rest were born of woman, whereas these were created by the Brahmans," invariably ignore this genealogy and claim to be of the "solar race," as if ashamed of their ignoble origin.

* *Tod*, i, 97.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, iv, 5; *Madras Jour. Lit.*, vii, 197, and xxii, 78.

‡ *Mad. Jour. Lit.*, xiii, 46, 52.

§ *Tod*, i, 97.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, iv, 37.

The larger acquaintance we are obtaining of the pre-Aryan population, ought to have an important bearing on the destinies of our Indian empire. It is an imperative duty to elevate these long-oppressed races, to enable them to assume their just position in the regeneration of their country. Meantime they are more open to the reception of Christianity, the surest road to civilisation, than any other section of the population. They would then prove the most assured supporters of the present state of things. The truthfulness, honesty, and bravery of some of the races afford the best materials for useful administrators and faithful soldiers.

When examined before Major Anson's committee of the House of Commons, of which Lord Cranborne was chairman, two years ago, I strongly urged the advisability of recruiting the ranks of the native army from these neglected people. If the supposition, that the Agni-Kula princes sprang from the rude mountaineers of the central region, and rose to extensive empire, be correct,—their modern descendants, if treated with justice by us now, may acquire equal celebrity in the future history of their country, when India is made over to the rule of her own sons.

XIII.—On the Races of India as Traced in Existing Tribes and Castes.
By G. CAMPBELL.

THE black aboriginal tribes found in the centre and south of India certainly supply links in the history of mankind worthy of more complete study than they have yet received. In the south they exist only in a very scattered form; but, in a large portion of Central India, they form the predominant population. I have for some years maintained in the publications and discussions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, that these tribes are rather allied to southern blacks than to northern Mongolians; but, that subject having now been taken up by the learned President, it is unnecessary that we should dwell on their physical characteristics. It will suffice for me to say, that they may be generally characterised as small, slight, and dark, with very thick prominent lips, and faces which to the most casual observer cannot for a moment be mistaken for those of Hindoos or other Aryans. Many of the tribes are in the very lowest stage of barbarism; in fact, are modern representatives of one of the earliest phases of the history of mankind—human beings who live in the woods almost without civilised arts, and without clothing of any kind beyond the occasional use of a vegetable tassel, scarcely equal to the fig leaves used

al parents in their degraded condition. Others, become comparatively civilised. Some have, during empires, risen to a position of dominance over others; very many have acquired the art of agriculture of industry, and make the best labourers and the country.

not sufficient knowledge to enable us to inter-tribes according to their physical characteristics; to take the test of language which, if not under all circumstances an infallible guide, is certainly one not to be neglected at once enabled to distinguish two great classes of tribes—possibly three classes. Those classes I have depicted in a separate map, on which I have represented their aborigines so far as, after much inquiry, I have been able to ascertain their habitats.

I will take the class of tribes who alone are found in India, who may be supposed to have been the inhabitants of that part of the country, and whom, with their language, I call Dravidian. Although these are found in Southern India but small and scattered and very few are found in many places wherever inaccessible mountains have protected them, and the great proof of their wide spread in the Peninsula is that, although the civilised races of the south Aryan features and have gradually obliterated those of the aborigines, the stratum of Aryan words has been superimposed on the language, still all the languages of the south are in the north and lower parts identical with those of the aborigines.

marked these Dravidian tribes black in the map. It is that to the north of the Godavery we come upon a few of them. These are the Gonds and Khonds. The how far there is any immediate connection between the tribes has not been sufficiently cleared up. Notwithstanding apparent similarity, after a good deal of inquiry, I do not believe that the two names are not identical. They have become well known on account of their practice of human sacrifices. The Gonds seem inclined to have done such things; but we believe them to be free from the stain. Having here reached a part of the map which I am more especially responsible—the Central India I may take leave to mention that we have recently paid a great deal of attention to the aboriginal tribes, and that we have published the particulars, procured lists of the tribes, of their language, and accounts of their manners and customs in considerable though yet imperfect detail.

By far the most important aboriginal tribe in the Central Provinces is that of the Gonds, who are estimated to number nearly two million souls, and who, at one time, ruled over the open country, both about Nagpore and in the valley of the Nerbudda. Indeed, it seems to be doubtful whether instead of being called a tribe, they should not be classed as a nation, making a fifth Southern or Dravidian people. They differ, however, from the other civilised Dravidians in that they retain their features almost intact. No one can mistake a Gond for a Hindoo—not even in the case of the civilised Rajas and Landholders. Their ancient seat seems to have been in the country between the Godavery and the Mahannddee; there they still maintain their primitive simplicity. I am inclined to believe that their more northern location on the Satpoooras was attained by conquest, breaking through and dividing the northern tribes. To the east, on the plateau of Chota Nagpore, we have a quiet, hard-working tribe, called Oraon, entirely different from those which surround them, and speaking a Dravidian language, and still further we have isolated on the Rajmehal hills another tribe similar in language but quite different in character, being predatory and little given to cultivation. The traditions of these tribes represent them as having moved eastwards in historical times, so that there is nothing in their location inconsistent with a southern origin.

The only doubt on that point might be the alleged existence, far west, in Belochistan, of a tribe—the Brahnis—whose language is said to show some Dravidian affinities. I have expressed an opinion that the evidence on this point was insufficient; but, I confess, that I have recently seen some reason to suspect the possibility of greater affinity than I had supposed between some Gond and Brahni words, and I hope to obtain farther information on the subject.

The red colour represents a class of tribes speaking a language which Professor Max Müller considers to have no connection whatever with the Dravidian tongues. It is a complete, and, in some respects, highly-finished language, containing a dual tense and other peculiarities, and a complete numeration without borrowing the higher numbers, as do almost all savages. Yet some of the tribes speaking this language are nearly as savage as the lowest Dravidian tribes. The mass of them are shy, but industrious agriculturalists, of whom the Sontals may be taken as the type. I designate these tribes "Kolarian" (as distinguished from the Dravidians), from the name Kol, Kolee or Coolee, applied to many of them, and the old name "Kolar", by which India was known in very ancient times. We have no exact census of their numbers, but they form a large popu-

lation, and, unlike most aboriginal tribes, seem to have a tendency to increase and to throw off hives of emigrants. A connection of these Kols, which is of extreme interest, is with the people of Pegue—the old race of the lower Irawaddy, who spoke the ancient Pegu or Talain language before they were conquered by the Burmese from the upper Irawaddy. Sir Arthur Phayre was kind enough to send me specimens of that language, and the lower test words are sufficient to demonstrate its connection with that of the Kols. I give some specimens, taking only the first of a small series of test words which I had selected in the order in which I had selected them for other purposes.

English.	Kol.	Pegue.
<i>One</i>	mia	morā
<i>Two</i>	baria	bā
<i>Three</i>	pia	pee
<i>Four</i>	poniā	paun
<i>Five</i>	monaya	m'sone
<i>Six</i>	turui	trow
<i>I</i>	ain	oa
<i>Thou</i>	am	m'na
<i>He</i>	uni	nya
<i>Hand</i>	tiki	toa
<i>Foot</i>	kata	chang
<i>Eye</i>	met	mote
<i>Water</i>	dah	dat
<i>Mother</i>	iyo	yai

This Talain language is rapidly disappearing, and I would take this opportunity of stating that a most competent scholar, the Rev. Dr. H. Moswell, of Moulmein, offered for publication, in Calcutta, a grammar and vocabulary of the language, which was not accepted for want of funds. This tongue may supply a link of superlative importance towards the ethnological connection of the east and the west, and I trust it will not be neglected.

In the most inaccessible parts of the Satpoora country above Jubbulpore, we have, as it were, aborigines within aborigines; that is, more remote than the Gonds, and surrounded by them is a very curious and very interesting tribe called Bygahs, probably of Kolarian origin.

Again, much farther to the west, we come on a large tribe occupying another part of the Satpooras, and dominant there, who are entirely distinct from the Gonds, and speak a pure Kolarian language. They are known as Koorkoos, and are semi-civilised. Beyond them again, and in other parts of Northern India, we have aboriginal tribes, whom I have separately depicted in blue, because they have ceased to speak languages which we can distinctly classify with either the Dravi-

dian or the Kolarian tongues. So far as I have been able to ascertain, they, in fact, now speak dialects of the modern languages of Northern India, although there are faint traces and traditions of older forms of speech. The large mass of aborigines to the west are the Bheels and Kolees, well known in the Bombay Presidency, and the Mhairs and Meenas of Rajpootana. Such slight traces as I have been able to obtain seem to tend to suggest a connection of the Bheels and Kolees with the Kolarian tribes whom, geographically, they adjoin, and they have been so classified in the Central Province papers.

There is no trace of the Indian aborigines in the Himalayas which are divided between Hindoos and Thibetans. In the dense and unhealthy forests, however, at the foot of, but quite *external* to, the Himalayas, are found considerable and very peculiar tribes—Tharoos and Boksas—whose affinities would seem to be with the Kolarians. It well may be that these tribes have here found in the forests an asylum from the conquering Hindoos, although they could gain no admittance to the hills occupied by other races.

It seems doubtful whether any connection with the Indian aborigines can be traced in the tribes under the hills farther to the east, where the northern and eastern races have almost overflowed the Himalaya. Mr. Hodgson calls "Sub-Himalayan" the races inhabiting the lower Himalayas, who are here certainly Mongolian.

I have ventured, somewhat doubtingly, to put down the Garrows as Indian aborigines, not so much from any positive evidence, as because they differ considerably from the eastern tribes by whom they are surrounded. I have also put in Assam a trace of the aborigines, because we there find a tribe called Bhooyas, who are known as aborigines on the opposite side of the Gangetic Delta, and who have been conjectured to represent the aboriginal element of the Bengallees. The other tribes in the hills around Assam are certainly of Thibetan, Siamese, and Chinese race, and not within the scope of this paper; but, farther south, in the hills of Chittagong and Arracan, are aboriginal tribes of whom we know very little, and who may possibly be found to supply a connecting link between the Kolees and the Peguan races.

I might go into many more details regarding the aboriginal tribes, but will only now say that their physique, their languages, their manners and customs, must all be thoroughly studied before we can classify them with confidence. As yet, our information is insufficient.

To explorers, I should like to suggest one very important, practical warning; viz., that they should not be misled by the

spurious adoption of Rajpoot insignia by the chiefs and more conspicuous families among the aboriginal tribes. The Rajpoots have obtained their own adoption into the Hindoo hierarchy; they have pushed among the savage tribes, and, now following their example, every semi-civilised savage who acquires a little power wants to turn into a Rajpoot, sets up some story of his ancestor being dropped in the hills by some Rajpoot hero, and establishes Rajpoot emblems. From these appearances travellers attribute to the tribes various northern origins. I myself found among the tribes overlooking the Nerbudda valley, numerous modern sepulchral slabs, exhibiting the horse (an animal almost unknown to the aborigines), the sun, the bent arm, etc.; but their value, or valuelessness, was made apparent, when I found that the Gonds and Koorkoos, two tribes wholly dissimilar in language, manners, religion, and everything else, used these slabs of the same pattern as exactly as if they had come from the same shop.

All that we can yet say is, that there are two classes of tribes: one more especially connected with the south; the other with the north and east. The question remains, whether the remaining tribes marked in blue are simply Kolarians, who have lost their language, or whether they may represent a third group more nearly connected with the modern Hindoos of the north. Although the Aryan vocables have almost entirely taken possession of the Hindustanee and cognate languages of the north, there is still a doubt whether their grammatical structure is not more aboriginal than Sanscritic; and till we understand more thoroughly the aboriginal grammars, and trace the non-Aryan words existing in the modern languages, it can hardly be decided whether the unclassed tribes have simply adopted the language of their conquerors, or whether the latter may not have founded their present speech on an aboriginal basis now so overlaid as to be almost lost to sight.

I now come to the Aryan tracts. Far too little is known of the people of the Hindoo Coosh and higher Indus. This much, however, is certain, from their features and the little we have of their speech, that they are Aryans of a high and handsome type. Their languages are certainly allied to those of the Hindoos, and some of the small specimens of the grammar of the more remote tribes which we have obtained seem to exhibit some startling affinities to the Latin.

Take this specimen of the pronouns and the verb "to be"—

Ei sum, *I am*
 Tu sis, *thou art*
 Sega se, *he is*
 Sena simis, *we are*
 We sik, *you are*

Sega sin, <i>they are</i>	
	AND
Ima, <i>my</i>	
Tua, <i>thy</i>	
Sega, <i>his</i>	

In the entire absence in these inaccessible hills of any other aborigines, we may find the best evidence that the Aryans are themselves the aborigines. I believe the people of the hills north of the Punjab to be among the purest Aryans in the world. They are extraordinarily handsome, of intellects extraordinarily acute, good agriculturalists, and skilful artists, but not very hardy or personally very courageous.

My theory is, that this pure Aryan stock has been on one side alloyed with the aboriginal Turanians of the north, forming the modern Europeans, a race more hardy than the pure Aryan, though not so handsome, just as alloyed gold or silver is more serviceable than the pure metal; while, on the other side, the same stock has been alloyed with the black aborigines of India forming the modern Hindoo races.

Best known among the old Aryans are the peoples of Kashmere and the adjacent country, the first and best specimen of the early and pure Hindoo. The bulk of the Kashmeerees are now Mahomedans, but all who remain Hindoo are Bramins; and there seems to be no doubt that the people are a Bramin race. We have here, then, protected by great mountain walls, those earliest Hindoos, the Bramins, as they existed before, meeting with other races, they became a caste. The name Bramin is probably a later caste name; the original name of the people is "Kash", "Kaush", or "Kasha", one which may still be traced in many places colonised by Bramins in India. We have it higher up in Kashgar or Kaushgar, and it seems probable that the Hindoo Koosh and our terms Caucasus and Caucasian really represent forms of the same word. The Kashmeeree language is one entirely separate and distinct, and should certainly be studied. While clearly an Aryan tongue, its grammatical forms are very different from those of India, being highly inflected, and not depending on the uniform system of postpositions which distinguishes the latter. There are evident traces that the Kashas once extended towards the Indus, and the recruits from the valleys in our territory near that river are still distinguished by our officers as magnificently handsome men with hearts of hares.

In this race map I have attempted to distinguish some of the successive waves of immigration into India, as still represented by existing peoples. The dark shade represents the aborigines in a body without classification. The red colour represents the Bramins. Outside of their stronghold, in the hills, they have been for the most part swept forward from the seats of their earliest colonies by successive waves of a later population; but we have traces of them clinging to the foot of the hills till we come to the scenes of their earliest fame, as

proper Hindoos on the banks of the sacred Saraswatee. We may follow them down the old course of that lost river, till we find them again more numerous in the hills of the western coast. The Maratta Bramins of that western hill country are a famous race, and in all their characteristics of mind and body very singularly like the Kashmerees.

Farther south we have Bramins in large numbers following industrious agricultural pursuits along the slopes of the Ghats, the earliest Aryans lying next to the still earlier aborigines.

There, too, they are in some parts of the country still known as "Kashastlalees". On the other side, from the Saraswatee, they advanced, or were swept forward to the Ganges, still more famous in modern Hindoo story. They have lost most of their hold of the upper Ganges, but in the lower Doab they are extremely numerous. In the Cawnpore District the majority of the cultivating Ryots are Bramins. And here, in hard contact with Rajpoots, they have learnt the use of arms, and, though little martial in their habits and manners, they entered our regular Sepoy army in large numbers. North of the Goga they are again numerous, but keep more to the original type of character. They are, of course, strong in their famous seat, "Kashee", or Benares. Beyond Benares the Bramins have intermixed with an aboriginal race, and the cross has resulted in a clan of bastard Bramins called Bamums or Bhalbuns, who are altogether dominant in great part of Behar and the countries thereabouts, and are very pugnacious and military. In the hills immediately to the north, we have again the ruling Goorkhas—properly *Gor-Khass*—who are believed to be a cross between Bramins of imperfect lineage and Thibetan tribes of the hills.

In the farthest east, on the swampy river-protected country of Bengal, to which the more warlike northern tribes never penetrated, Bramins are quite the dominant race, as office-holders, superior land-holders, and otherwise; and they there form a numerous section of the population, retaining most of the Bramin characteristics; a good-looking, very intellectual people, only darker than their purer brethren in the northern and western countries.

Very singular, again, it is that, although throughout all Southern India the aboriginal tongues have maintained their place as the basis of the modern languages, still farther south, we have in the Singhalese a people speaking an Aryan language, and in that and other respects very like the Bengalese. Although they are now Buddhists, my theory is that they are a colony of the earliest Braminical immigrations thus pushed to the farthest Indian limits. From these there has been a

kind of reflux on the west coast of the Southern Peninsula: a handsome and clever race of settlers known as "Teermen" or "Islanders", and clearly allied to the Singhalese.

It might seem at first sight strange that the best specimens of early Aryans of the Kasha or Bramin race should be met with, as it were, in the four corners of India: Kashmere in the north, the Maratta country in the west, Bengal in the east, and Ceylon in the south; but it is, I venture to think, well consistent with my theory that they should now exist first, in their aboriginal seats in the hills; and, second, in the most remote parts of the country colonised by them, to which they have been driven by subsequent more warlike immigrants.

In addition to the personal characteristics of the Bramin races which I have mentioned, I should say that their institutions are in some respects different from, and less democratic than, those of the races which followed them. Neither in Kashmere nor Bengal, nor, so far as I have heard, in Ceylon, does the true Indian village flourish, and in the Konkan the Bramins claim more aristocratic rights.

The ancient Koshatryas, the first conquerors of the Bramins, are sometimes said to have disappeared, although there are several claimants to their honours. The best claim is, I think, that of the Khatrees of the Punjab, a tribe or caste not popularly known. Their name has caused them to be confounded with the quasi Kshatryas, the Rajpoots, on one hand, and their occupations with the proper trading castes, the Banees or Bunneahs, on the other; but, in truth, they have no connection with either. Their number is not great—nowhere suffices to form large agricultural communities; and if they do represent the Kshatrya race it must either have originally been but a small tribe or must in great degree have been absorbed. I do, however, believe that these Khatrees are one of the most remarkable instances to be found in the world of the hereditary persistence of race-qualities. Small in number as they are, it is perfectly astonishing how prominent individuals of them have been in the history of different parts of India. Name a distinguished Hindoo, and there seems to be a very great probability that he will turn out to be a Khatree. They were the brains and directing genius of the whole Sikh power, a very large proportion of Runjeet Sing's governors (he of Multan and others) were Khatrees; Akber's finance minister, Todar Mull, famous for the settlement of Bengal and other provinces, was a Khatree; Chandroo Lall, the notorious minister of the Nizam, was a Khatree; so was Iotee Pershad, the well-known commissariat contractor of Agra. In Mogul times a Khatree was Governor of Badakshan, beyond the Himmalayas; and many

others might be named. They are now principally engaged in mercantile and clerkly pursuits in the Punjab, but are also always ready to use the sword. In fact, they seem to have all the acuteness of Bramins and Bunneahs, with much greater boldness and physical energy.

The same race are found, in small numbers, as primitive and pleasant shepherds, in some of the higher hills north of the Punjab. They are also in considerable force in Affghanistan. They have found their way far into Central Asia, and have even been known in St. Petersburg. In Affghanistan they are a necessary constituent of every village. It may be a question whether they are there immigrants or have not a much more ancient origin. North-eastern Affghanistan was certainly once a Hindoo country, and that may have been the original seat of the Kshatrya tribe before they came down and got the better of their neighbours, the Bramins.

Although the Rajpoots are now quite Hindooised, a pure Hindoo origin can hardly be claimed for them. In their religious institutions and manners they bear evident marks of a more northern origin. In fact, they have not even a tribal or caste name among the Hindoos, the titles by which they are known being only "Rajpoots", *i. e.*, sons of Rajahs, or Thakoors, *i. e.*, chiefs.

The Rajpoots form the second of the waves of immigration which I have attempted to depict on the map, marked yellow. There are evident traces of their former hold on the Punjab, in great part of which they have been submerged by the advancing Jats (marked blue) within historical time. A fine Rajpoot tribe called Dogras yet possess the lower hills to the north, the chief of which is now Lord of Kashmere. But the great Rajpoot country of history, and that in which they are still most numerous is the Gangetic valley. Here, in their original state, as great agricultural communities, they have still, to some extent, democratic northern institutions. But much of their strength has been expended on conquest; and, as conquerors, they adopt a feudal system exactly similar to that which prevailed in Europe, and which may now be seen all over Rajpootana, where the Rajpoots rule over subject races. They have never actually conquered the aboriginal country; but, in a very singular way, by mere force of character, Rajpoot families have established themselves as chiefs over many of the hill tribes, just as Norman families found their way to the clanships of our Highland clans without direct conquest.

I think the Rajpoots must now be considered to be somewhat effete and inferior to the fresher races, especially to the Jats, whom I have already mentioned. I do not know whether

the Jats are really Getæ; but everything shows them to be a northern people whose advent is more recent than that of the Rajpoot. That they have no ancient hold on the country to the north may be gathered from the fact that, powerful as they now are, they are nowhere found within the northern hills. We may assume that they neither had their origin there nor entered India by that route. Indeed, the physical obstacles are such that it is scarcely possible that any people not already settled in the hills could enter as immigrants from that quarter. But we *do* find the Jats in the hill country, about the Bolan Pass, and from thence, in a semi-circle, we have them gradually occupying the country. We may well infer that they came in by that route. That these people are extremely robust and warlike, they have shown in many wars, as Sikhs, and at Bhurt-pore; but they are also excellent subjects, admirable agriculturalists, and good revenue payers. Physically, there is no finer race; tall, strong, active, with fine features, fine teeth, and very fine beards. In their institutions they are extremely democratic; every village is a perfect little republic. Yet they, too, like other Aryans, when they become conquerors, adopt a feudal system, and in my earlier service in what are called the Cis-Sutlej States, I had experience of perhaps the most complete feudal system which has existed in our day. Both in the Punjab and Cis-Sutlej territory all the principal Sikh chiefs from Runjeet Sing downwards, as well as their followers, were Jats.

I have not attempted farther to trace throughout India the course of various races. I believe that most of the remaining modern castes may be described as mixed; *i.e.*, compounded between Aryans and various aboriginal tribes, the Aryan features and Aryan institutions now almost always predominating. The Koormees or Koonbees are a great agricultural race, occupying large parts of the Hindostanee country of Guzerat, and it may be said the whole Maratta country. I had been much puzzled to understand how the very quiet unwarlike Maratta-speaking cultivators with whom I have become familiar in the Nagpore country could ever have been turned into the military Marattas, so famous in recent history. The result of inquiry is to solve the difficulty thus:—The mass of the Marattas are neither soldiers nor statesmen, nor, as I believe, capable of doing much in that way. The hardy military Marattas were found exclusively in the south-western parts of the country where they had been largely mixed with the aboriginal tribes of the Western Ghats, and were guided by the clever Bramins of those parts. The ruling Marattas of Nagpore all come from the Sattara country. For the rest the Maratta

armies were made up of adventurers of every caste and creed; very many of them Mahommedans. In this they differed from the Sikhs, whose forces were mainly their own free people, the Jats.

In the farther south, especially in the Tamul country, there are evident traces of agricultural tribes who had brought with them from the north free village institutions; but I cannot here attempt to trace them in detail.

Other races are probably represented by the more pastoral or cow-herd tribes: the Goojars of the north; the Aheers of Hindostan; the Gwallas of Bengal; and the Gordees of Central India. These last are a very fine race, and their features and manners show them to be decidedly Aryan, of a type less alloyed than that of most castes. To them universal tradition and consent attributes the old remains of former greatness which are so common in this part of the country, and especially the curious cairns and stone circles which are the subject of so much interest and speculation to antiquaries. Of the same race are probably the Todas of the Neilgherries, a very similar race, and who are, I believe, also connected with these stone remains. I understand that in the Canarese language Toda simply means cowherd or herdsman—in fact a translation of our term “gow-lee.”

Everywhere—in every part of India,—as it were a necessary part of the structure of society there—a Helot race exists under the free races—hewers of wood and drawers of water; not slaves, but politically and socially subject. In the Punjab there is one such race, a very fine one—the Chooras; in Hindostan another, the Chumars, besides the outcasts, lower than them again. In the Maratta country are the Mhars; in the South, Pariahs and other tribes. These people, no doubt, represent conquered races, and, as a rule, the lower you go the more you recede from the Aryan type, and the greater seems to be the infusion of aboriginal blood. Also as you go further from the North to the South and East the greater are the traces of that blood. In the Punjab it is hardly, or not at all, seen. The Chumars of Hindostan are generally round-faced, small-featured, and dark, but still without any decided aboriginal feature. In the Mhars, and in some of the lower castes of Bengal, it shows more, and in some of the Southern tribes it shows much. That it has but gradually diminished may be inferred from the fact that in the great cave of Elephanta, near Bombay, and elsewhere in Western and Southern India, the statues exhibit palpable non-Aryan features.

I will conclude with the mention of only one more race: the traders known as Banees or Wanees, Bunneahs, and Bunijugas.

They are not found in the extreme north. They form no portion of the permanent population of Bengal, and in the south-east of the peninsula their functions are taken by a class called Koomtees, who claim an earlier Hindoo origin. But in all the western countries of India these Banees are very important. The well-known Marwarees, the energetic traders who find their way to Calcutta and to almost all other parts of India, come from Western Rajpootana. The North-western Provinces are, for mercantile and shopkeeping purposes, entirely in the hands of Banees, who point to the western districts as the country of their origin. Goozerat, Malwa, and the Bombay country are full of them, and they are very numerous in the Canarese country, forming apparently there a large proportion of the population. Nothing can exceed their trading acuteness, and many of them are possessed of much clerical talent, but they are utterly unwarlike, and almost entirely confined to their own peculiar pursuits. They are always strong zealots for one form of modern Hindooism, setting great store on animal life and ceremonial observance. Very many of them go farther, and profess different forms of those religions which are, I think, connected with the old faith of Siva the regenerator.

The Jains belong, I believe, almost exclusively to the Banees caste, as do most of the Lingamites of the Canarese country. The idea to which I have inclined is that all the various forms of faith, differing from the Vedic faith in gods above, which have permeated Western and Southern India and influenced the whole country, spring from one common principle—an ancient Darwinianism, which would attribute everything to a gradual process of rise from below upwards by successive births, regenerations, and transmigrations of souls. As matter of conjecture I have hazarded the theory, that possibly the Banees may be the representatives of a race which brought in this religion from the West, and with it that early civilisation of the South, of which we have not yet traced the source.

At any rate of this I am confident, that in these and other questions there is a great field for inquiry among the existing races and castes of India.

Remarks, by MR. JAMES FERGUSSON.

At this late period of the evening I shall not attempt to make any remarks on the papers which have just been read, but I am not sorry to have an opportunity of explaining my reasons for using the term Turanian in the sense I did in my work on

tree and serpent worship. I am afraid I have not explained my meaning in that book so clearly as I should have done, or your president would hardly have accused me of using it in a sense different from that employed by other Indian ethnographers.

The term, as I understand it, is of Persian origin. In their simple system of ethnography the inhabitants of Central Asia divide all the world between two races—Iran and Turan, or Iranum, or as we call it, Aryan, meaning themselves, and Turanism, meaning everybody else, or, as they otherwise express it, Iran and an-Iran, Aryan and non-Aryan.

In this sense the term is applied to the Dravidian races by Dr. Caldwell in his grammar of their language, which is the most important and most trustworthy work on the subject, and he considers all the aboriginal tribes south of the Byndia to belong to the same family, though you have just heard Mr. Campbell cut them up into numerous separate families.

In the book in question I was especially anxious to avoid entering on extraneous ethnographical theories, with which I had no concern, and which are as yet far from being settled and accepted generally, but it was most important to distinguish throughout between the Aryan Brahmins and their Vedic religion and non-Aryan castless races and their Buddhist form of faith. The term Turanian, as generally used by Indian ethnographers, expressed exactly this distinction, and I therefore employed it in this sense throughout.

Remarks, by MR. WALTER DENDY.

I rose to refer to a section of Mr. Campbell's excellent paper, so deeply interesting to the ethnic philologist, the subject of the Aryan language. It is one that is highly illustrative of the comparative antiquity of races, and of the natural history of man equally with the study of structural development. In listening to the dialect of the Aryan families, the ancient Turanian, the Caucasian varieties of India, we might almost fancy a rehearsal of the Latin grammar; favouring the belief of Latham that the origin of Sanscrit was the old Celtic with an infusion of Latin.

It has been a moot point in ethnology whether the blending of the oriental and occidental dialects may have resulted from the wanderings of the Aryans westward, or from the incursions of the western peoples toward the East. On this interesting subject it would be instructive to learn from Mr. Campbell more regarding the border dialects of India, around Cashmere

and the Hindoo Koosh, that might also further illustrate not only the mysteries of Iran and Turan, but even the relation of of Buddhism with Christianity.

ORDINARY MEETING, JANUARY 23rd, 1869.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF INDIA.—*Continued.*

New Members.—DAVID FORBES, Esq., F.R.S.; A. W. BELL, Esq., M.D.; EUGENE MORRIS, Esq.; R. M. INMAN, Esq.

Introduction.

DARJEELING, in lat. 27° N. and long. 88° 22' E., is a British district in the Himalaya. It is about 400 miles north of Calcutta. The station is at an elevation of 7000 feet above the level of the sea. The climate is cool and most salubrious. The scenery is really magnificent. The views of Kinchinlinga and other snowy mountains, varying from 16,000 to 28,000 feet in height, are unsurpassed anywhere in grandeur. To the south of the district are the burning plains of Bengal; to the north is the cold and rugged country of Thibet. From these two countries, peopled on the one hand by aborigines of India, and on the other by the Mongolians, the Himalaya has, no doubt, derived its varied populations, and it is with a notice of some of the tribes I am now to trouble you. Looking at the very large collection of photographs, representing the people of India, which adorn our walls on this occasion, it will scarcely surprise you to learn that about forty tribes, with as many separate languages or dialects, inhabit the countries of Nepal, Sikim, and Bootan; and it is from these countries that the population of Darjeeling has been formed. This is nothing unusual, however, on our extended frontier in India; for in every British province along the border, from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf, and in many others, lying between Cashmere on the north and Ceylon on the south, we have an extraordinary variety of tribes, all of whom are non-Aryans, and amount in the aggregate to many millions.

XIV.—*On the Lepchas.* By DR. A. CAMPBELL, Late Superintendent of Darjeeling.

IN April last, I had the honour of presenting the Ethnological Society with a paper on the "Tribes around Darjeeling," giving a detailed description of the "Limboos," and I then promised to furnish an account of the "Lepchas," at a future time. Photographs, articles of clothing, arms, and other objects illustrative of the tribes, were exhibited, and I made an attempt to classify them with reference to their physical conformation, their languages, religions, and favourite pursuits. In describing the Limboos, it was not my aim to meet any scientific system, based on physical or lingual features only, but having reference also to the most important considerations which affect a British officer's intercourse with the wild tribes of India while living amongst and governing them. I endeavoured more particularly to point out their idiosyncracies, and on this occasion I shall claim your indulgence while following the same course. Mr. Hodgson, the best authority on Himalayan ethnology, approved of my last paper, but considered that the classification of the tribes might be amended. To this I readily assent, for classification is a difficult matter, and have told him I shall gladly defer, if he will make out a fresh table of classification. I classed the tribes under eight heads thus—

1. Brahmins and Rajpoots. Very few in number, known to all the world, and need not be described. Language, Sanscrit; physiognomy, Indo-European type, with a dash of Mongolian; confined to Nipal west of the Koose.

2. Khus, Magars, Goorongs. A mixed race; Hindoos with lax notions of caste; speak Parbattia dialect of Hindi, *i.e.* Sanscritic; the two latter have separate dialects of their own, which are not Sanscritic. Physiognomy, markedly Mongolian; stature low, 5 feet 3 inches to 5 feet 8 inches; hands small; mountaineers, make good soldiers.

3. Bhoteas, Lepchas, Moormis. Buddhists, speak languages of Thibetan origin; strongly-marked Mongolian features. The two first fair in colour, powerful frames, and active; feet and hands well developed. The last are of smaller stature than the two former.

4. Limboos, Kirautis, Haioos, Sunwars, Chepangs. Mountaineers; forms of religion unnamed; languages referable to the Indian or Thibetan standards; stature small; Mongolian type strongest in the Lemboos.

5. Mechis, Dhimals, and Garrows. Inhabit the Terai or lowlands at the foot of the mountains; not Hindoos, Buddhists, nor Mahommedans; physiognomy Mongolian; complexion,

yellowish ; withstand the effects of the most virulent malaria ; are not fond of soldiering ; language not Sanscritic.

6. Tharoos and Dhanwars. Either Buddhists or Mahomedans ; inhabit the Terai ; language not Sanscritic ; colour dark ; scarcely Mongolian in features.

7. Batur, Kebrut, Amath, Maraha, Dhanook, Doms. Terai men, colour dark ; speak Hindi or Bengali ; are Hindoos so called, but without the pale ; not Mongolians.

8. Koches or Rajbungsis. Hindoos, but not within the pale ; inhabit the Terai of Nepal and Sikim, and spread into the adjacent districts of Purnea, Rungpoor, and Assam ; colour dark.

I shall now repeat that with the exception of the few Brahmins and Rajpoots among them, the tribes of Nepal and around Darjeeling may, I believe, be correctly referred to one or other of two great divisions—namely, the aboriginal races of India, or the Mongolians of Thibet ; the greater number being a mixture of both. By the “Aborigines of India,” I mean the people who inhabited the Gangetic valley, *i.e.* the country lying between the Vindya and the Himalaya before the arrival of the Aryans ; such as the Bheels, Gonds, Coles, Santals, the people of Orissa, Assam, and of Bengal and Tirhoot, represented in the present day by the outcasts and low castes. All these people are as different from the Aryans, as represented by the Brahmins and Rajpoots of the North-west and Oude, as they are from any other well-recognised races, notwithstanding a similarity of colour ; they are also very different from the Dravidians and Tamulians of the South of India, who are supposed by our distinguished President to be of the same race as the Australians. The tribes are, therefore, essentially “Non-Aryans.” For the clearest and most complete exposition of the relations between the Aryans and non-Aryans, I would refer you to two important works, recently published in London—“The Annals of Rural Bengal” and a “Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages,” both by Mr. W. W. Hunter, of the Bengal Civil Service. The dictionary, which is composed of 125 non-Aryan languages from India and High Asia, with twenty other languages, including the Sanscrit, Arabic, and Chinese, which have contributed to the formation of the non-Aryan tongues, is preceded by a very able dissertation, and will greatly facilitate the study of the numerous tribes of our Indian territories by people in Europe. It will also be of immense use to British officers, traders, missionaries, and others living among these tribes. Having gone among non-Aryans, in Nipal and Sikim, before any such facility of acquiring a knowledge of the languages and habits of the people existed, I can safely speak

of the importance of this work, and, having administered the non-Aryan district of Darjeeling for twenty-two years, I can affirm that the study of these wild tribes, in all their tempers and peculiarities, formed the main ground-work of a successful issue in my own hands; as it always will to the civilized man who devotes himself to the interests of his savage fellow-creatures.

The Lepchas are the most interesting and pleasing of all the tribes around Darjeeling. They were the first to join us on our arrival there, and have always continued to be the most liked by Europeans, and to be the most disposed to mix freely with them. Dr. Hooker has, in his "*Himalayan Journals*," given an account of this tribe. They were of all others his favourite, as plant collectors and baggage carriers. A photograph, considered typical of the tribe, and coloured drawings, good representations of the men and women, and accurately representing their costumes,* together with a hat worn by the Lepcha soldier of Sikim, and also silver, coral, and brass ornaments in general use among the women were shown. The habitat of Lepchas occupies an extent of about 100 miles from north-west to south-east along the southern face of the Himalaya to the east and west of Darjeeling, *i.e.* into Nipal on the one hand, and Bootan on the other. Although the Lepchas have a written language—[a printed specimen exhibited]—they do not possess any recorded history of themselves, nor have they chronicles of any important events in which they have taken part. They are divided into two families, *viz.* "Rong" and "Khumba," but the two, at one time said to have been separated, are now so thoroughly amalgamated in all essentials of language, religion, customs, and habits, and in their physical characters, as to be the same people. The tradition is that the "Rong" has always been in Sikim, but that the "Khamba" branch came across the snowy range from Thibet, and of this there can be no doubt. My own belief is, that the "Rong" were also from the same part of Thibet, and of the same tribe, but that they emigrated from that country very long prior to the "Khambas;" otherwise, it is not intelligible that the two designations should now represent the same people. The Khambas, as they relate, came from a province of China called "Kham," which is described as lying about thirty days' journey to the east and north of Lassa, and on the main road from that city to Peking. It was always described to me as very badly governed by its native chiefs,

* Photo No. 2 is that of "Cheboo Lama", whose mother was a Lepcha and his father a Bootia. He shall be alluded to further on.

who had never been brought under full subjection to the Chinese Government, and this has recently been confirmed by the Pundit's report of his visit to Lassa in 1866.*

It is now about 250 years since the Khamba branch of the Lepchas crossed into Sikim. They were then headed by the first ancestor of the present Rajah of Sikim, who is himself a Khamba. Previous to the arrival of the Khambas, great confusion prevailed among the people of Sikim, in consequence of the incessant struggles for supremacy among their chiefs; at that early period, even, there were Lamas in the country, and their influence was considerable. Finding it hopeless, however, to reconcile conflicting claims to supremacy, they suggested that a rajah should be sought for in some distant country, to whom all classes should tender allegiance. A deputation of Lamas proceeded to Thibet in search of a fitting ruler for Sikim; here they were unsuccessful, and passed on to "Kham," where they discovered a boy whose horoscope was considered auspicious; on him they conferred the Sikim crown, and brought him, with a large following of his tribe, across the snows, and proclaimed him Rajah of Dinjong, which is the name in the Lepcha language of the Sikim country.

The first Raja, although chosen for the office in the same way as that adopted in the election of fresh incarnations of deceased Lamas, did not exercise any spiritual authority over his people. The Lamas, who brought him to the throne, retained this in their own hands. Some time after, however, the spiritual power came into the family of the Rajah, and continued there. When I was first accredited to the Rajah in 1840, his eldest son was a Lama and the High Priest of the little kingdom; a younger son being nominated heir apparent. This son died, however, and the eldest—the Lama—by a special dispensation from the Grand Lama at Lassa, was absolved from his vow of celibacy, married, and was named heir apparent.

The Lepchas are Buddhists, following the Lamas of Thibet and of their own tribe indiscriminately. The former, from being generally better educated at religious establishments of repute, are considered the most holy and orthodox. The latter rarely leave Sikim to study; when they do, they derive the full advantages of the superior consideration accorded to the Thibetans, provided they also adhere to the whole rules of Monachism. Marriage is permitted to the Lepcha priest, and he is considered a good match for the daughters of the chiefs. The influence of

* The Pundit Numphal of the great Trigonometrical Survey of India travelled from the sources of the great river of Thibet to Lassa in this year: a journey of fifteen hundred miles, at a mean elevation of fourteen hundred feet above the level of the sea.

er the Lepchas is considerable, but by no means attained by them in the adjoining country of the Bootias. Many of the Lepcha Lamas, in the are obliged, and not ashamed, to relinquish an en-ice on alms, which is enjoined by their religion, a active employments of trade and agriculture. wever, retain a certain odour of sanctity, becoming er of priests.

as have no caste distinctions. Those who live epal Government are obliged to conform to the of that state, which prohibits the killing of the hey do, however, with a very bad grace, and rarely portunity of visiting Darjeeling to indulge their propensities. They are gross feeders, eating all ial food, including the elephant, rhinoceros, and all grains and vegetables known to us, with the any roots and plants altogether excluded from our

Pork is their most favourite flesh; next to that nd mutton. The yak is considered the best beef, hat the flesh of the Sikim cow, a fine animal, and galli and common cow. All birds are included in atable game. Of the carrion of wild animals, that nt is most prized. The favourite vegetable food is it wheat, barley, maize, millet, mūrwa, and a fine n called "bookh", which grows all over these moun-ations of from 1500 to 3000 feet. During the rains, s scarce, they contentedly put up with ferns, bam-everal sorts of fungi, and innumerable succulent wild on the mountains. A large-rooted arum is t this season, after being soaked in water for six ove its acrid juice; still it often produces colic, and . Fond of fermented and spirituous liquors, the nevertheless not given to drunkenness; their com-e is a kind of beer made from the fermented in-lian corn and mūrwa, which is weak, but agreeably y refreshing. They drink this at all times when and when making a journey it is carried in a large unga," and diligently applied to throughout the have no distilled liquor of their own, but they ire and prize all our strong waters—our port and ry brandy, and maraschino. Tea is a favourite e black sort brought from China in large cakes eferred. It is prepared by boiling, after which n is churned up in a "chungu," with butter and is never taken with tea. Their cooking is careless, not cleanly. Rice is generally boiled when travel-

ling in pieces of the large bamboo ; at home, in coarse iron pots. Vegetables are always boiled in oil, when the latter is procurable, and spiced with capsicum and ginger, of which these hills possess very fine kinds. Salt is not a commonly used condiment, the chief source of its supply till lately being Thibet ; whence rock-salt is brought on men's backs ; the easier communication with the plains of Bengal by the new Darjeeling road admits of the importation of this article at a cheaper rate, and sea-salt is rapidly taking the place of the other.

The Lepcha dress is simple and graceful. It consists of a robe of striped red and white cotton cloth crossed over the breast and shoulders, and descending to the calf of the legs, leaving the arms bare ; a loose jacket of red cotton cloth is worn over the robe by those who can afford it, and both are bound round the waist by a red girdle ; some strings of coloured beads round the neck, silver and coral earrings, a bamboo bow and quiver of iron-pointed arrows, and a long knife complete the dress of the men. The knife, called "ban" by the Lepchas, and "chipsa" by the Bootias, is constantly worn by the males of all ages and ranks ; it hangs on the right side suspended from the left shoulder, and is used for all purposes. With the "ban" the Lepcha clears a space in the forest for his house and cultivation ; it is the only tool used by him in building ; with it he skins the animals that fall a prey to his snares and arrows ; it is his sword in battle, his table knife, his hoe, spade, and nail parer. Without the "ban" he is helpless to move in the jungle ; with it, he is a man of all work : the expertness with which it is used by the boys of a few years' old even is the astonishment of strangers.* The women are less neatly dressed than the men : a piece of plain unbleached cotton cloth, or the cloth of the castor oil insect—the Indi—rolled round to form a sort of petticoat, with a loose red gown of the same, and a profusion of mock coral and coloured bead necklaces, form their entire wardrobe. They are the domestic and farm drudges of the men, performing all out and in-door work along with their husbands, and much besides. It is not unusual to meet a stout and active man, bow in hand, sauntering along the road, followed by his wife and sisters heavily loaded with grain or merchandise. It is the delight of a Lepcha to be idle ; he abhors the labour of practising any craft, but he expects that while he is amused and unemployed the female part of the household shall be busily engaged in the field, or in looking after the pigs and poultry. In recent times they have taken to

* The "Ban" is a straight sword with a wooden scabbard open along one side.

work in tea plantations and as chair-bearers ; and the necessity for money, since we introduced it into their country, has made them more steady workers.

Marriages among the Lepchas are not contracted in childhood as among the Hindoos, nor do the men generally marry young. This arises mainly from the difficulty of procuring means of paying the parents of the bride the expected *douceur* on giving the suitor their daughter to wife. This sum varies from 40 Rs. to 100 Rs. according to the rank of the parties. It is not customary to allow the bride to leave her parents' house for that of her husband until the sum agreed has been paid ; hence, as the marriage is permitted while the female is still under the father's roof, it is by no means uncommon to find the husband the temporary bondsman of his father-in-law, who exacts, Jewish fashion, labour from his son, in lieu of money, until he shall have fairly won his bride. The Lepchas intermarry with the Limboos and Bootias, and the offspring of such unions become members of the father's tribe, without any disqualification whatever.

The Lepchas, like most true Buddhists, bury their dead ; the presence of death in a hamlet is always regarded with temporary horror, and the house it has visited is almost always forsaken by the surviving inmates. Fever and small-pox are considered alike contagious, and greatly dreaded. On the appearance of the latter in a village, it is deserted by the young and strong, whose relatives are not attacked ; and nothing will induce a Lepcha from another part of the country to visit an infected village. Vaccination is greatly prized by this people ; its preservative blessings are sought for at Darjeeling by them and other tribes from remote parts of Nipal and Sikim, but there is no extended agency for propagating it. Goitre is known among them, but it is by no means common ; ophthalmia is, I think, very uncommon, and syphilis rarely met with. I have seen one case of leprosy only in a Lepcha, and although the mountainous nature of their country renders the climate sufficiently damp and cold, rheumatism seems to be a rare disease. On the whole, they are decidedly exempt from many of the ills which flesh is certain heir to in the most favoured countries of the globe ; consumption I have never met with, liver disease and dysentery are rare. Cholera had never been heard of when we arrived at Darjeeling, but in 1860 there were some cases, evidently imported from the plains. In person the Lepchas are short, averaging about five feet in height ; five feet six inches is tall, and four feet eight inches is a common stature among the men. The women are shorter in the usual proportion. The men are bulky for their height, but rather fleshy than sinewy. The muscular development of their limbs is inferior to that of the *Mágárs*, *Gurungs*, *Murmis*, and

other Parbuttias. They are very fair of skin, and boys and girls in health have generally a ruddy tinge of complexion; this is lost, however, in adolescence, although the fairness continues. The features are markedly Mongolian, but there is a fulness and roundness of feature, accompanied by a cheerful expression and laughing eye, which renders the face a most pleasing one. The total absence of beard, and the fashion of parting the hair along the crown of the head, adds to a somewhat womanly expression of countenance in the men, and the loose bedgown sort of jacket, with wide sleeves, which they wear, contributes still more to render it rather difficult for strangers to distinguish the sexes, especially in middle age. The men very often look like women, and the women sometimes like men. The hair is worn long by both sexes, the younger men allowing it to hang loose over the shoulders, the elders plaiting it into a tail, which sometimes reaches to the knees. The women of rank wear their hair in two, and sometimes in three tails, tying it with braids and silken cords and tassels. The Lepchas, both male and female, are dirty in person, rarely having recourse to ablution. In the cold and dry season this renders them unpleasant inmates of a close dwelling, but in the rains, when they move about and are frequently wet, they are clean and sweet. The temperament of the Lepcha is eminently cheerful, and his disposition really amiable. In ordinary intercourse they are a very fascinating people, and possess an amount of intelligence and rational curiosity not to be met with among their Bhootiah, Limboo, Murmi, or Gurung neighbours, and indeed rarely, if ever, to be seen among people so completely secluded from foreign intercourse as they always have been. The marked contrast in these respects between the Lepchas and the listless, uninquiring natives of the plains renders association with them a source of much pleasure to Europeans. They are wonderfully honest, theft being scarcely known among them; they rarely quarrel among themselves. I have never known them to draw their knives on one another, although they always wear them. For ordinary social purposes of talking, eating, and drinking, they have great unanimity, but for any more important purposes of resistance to oppression, the pursuit of industry or trade, their confidence in one another is at a low pitch; they fly bad government rather than resist it, and used to prefer digging for yams in the jungle, and eating wretchedly innutritious vegetables, to enduring any injustice or harsh treatment. They are singularly forgiving of injuries, when time is given them, after hasty loss of temper. Although they were ready enough to lodge complaints before the magistrate against one another in cases of assault and other offences, they rarely prose-

ision, generally preferring to submit to arbitrating mutual amends and concessions. They are daring, and cannot be induced to enlist in our army or service in the Hills. They are pretty good with the arrow, but do not practise it regularly, as well as in war. In catching partridges, and other birds with hair springs, they are expert; and catch fish in the pools of their rapid rapids with nux vomica and other plants. The poor agriculturists, their labours in this art being the careless growing of rice, India corn, murwa (*Eleusine indica*), and a few vegetables, of which the brinjal, and capsicum are the chief. Their habits are incurable; they do not form permanent villages, and rarely stay more than three years in one place, at the expiration of which they move into a new part of the forest, sometimes distant, and there go through the labour of clearing a house, building a new one, and preparing the soil for a crop. The latter operations consist in cutting down smaller trees, lopping off the branches of the large trees, and burning them, and scratching the soil with the "bân," a wooden plough, on the falling of a shower of rain, the seed is sown on the ground. Their houses are built entirely of bamboo, raised about five feet from the ground, and thatched with bamboo material, but a smaller species, split up. This is peculiar to this part of the country; it is an excellent material, especially when exposed to smoke; lasts about five years, and was adopted by us at Darjeeling, and was until now the most convenient and cheapest roof obtainable; the wants of our settlement could not be met by it, and we were forced, ere long, to substitute shingles of chesnut

I have appended a vocabulary of 200 words of the Lepcha to this paper, with the numerals up to eighty, which they can read. A German missionary at Darjeeling translated the four Gospels into this language, and devoted his life to the tribe to embrace Christianity, but with no success. There is a gentleman—Major Mainwaring—engaged in compiling a Lepcha dictionary, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and at the expense of the Bengal Government; so that we are now getting into a good position to be more thoroughly acquainted with this tribe, as far as their language is concerned. The language has no affinity, I believe, with the Chinese, or Arabic; nor was it hitherto believed that it was one of the numerous languages or Thibetan dialects which prevail in those exten-

sive regions. It is, however, rather dangerous at present to speak with precision of the lingual affinities of the dialects of any Indian tribes. The latest authority on this subject, Mr. Hunter, has broken new ground in this inquiry, and does much to prove that "China has given its speech, not merely to the great islands of the Southern Ocean, but to the whole Eastern Peninsula: to Siam, Tenasserim, Burmah, in a less degree to Central Asia, to many of the Himalayan tribes, and to some of the pre-Aryan peoples of the interior of India."* He goes a step further in saying that he can safely affirm that the pages of his book "point to primeval roots common to both Aryan and non-Aryan speech, in a far more definite manner, than the similar indications by which scholars have sought to reduce the Semitic and Indo-Germanic families to a cognate source;" and in showing that an ancient connection existed between China and the aboriginal races of India, he concludes with the following remarkable announcement, viz.—that he has written his book in vain if it does not give positive proof "that the aboriginal races of the Eastern peninsula, Burmah and India north of the Vindhya range, derived their speech from a source common to themselves and the Chinese." In the present uncertainty about Himalayan dialects, and being no philologist myself, I must refer you to my small vocabulary, and to Mr. Hunter's comparative dictionary, for the means of settling the origin and affinities of the Lepcha language.

The numerals run up to 10 thus—*Kat*, neath, *sum*, *phulee*, *phongo*, *trok*, *kucheok*, *ku ku*, *katen*, *kutu*; 11 is ten and one, and so on up to 19; 20 is *ka ka*; 30 is 20 and 10; 40 is *ka neath*, or two twenties; 60 is *ka sum*, or three twenties; 80 is *ka phutee*, or four twenties.

It has already been noticed that the Lepchas are very unsettled in their habits, that they will gladly undergo great privations rather than submit to oppression or injustice; and that they prefer flight to resistance when aggrieved; also that they are very partial to Europeans, and Europeans to them.

These are prominent features in their character. I shall conclude by giving two marked instances of these characteristics

* The following instances are cited in proof. In Chinese, "sum" is the numeral "three"; but we find it has furnished it not only to Japan, Siam, Tenasserim, Burmah, Eastern Bengal, Nipal, the Himalayan tribes, and Thibet, but that it also appears in the language of the Mantchoos, the Dalai, Lama, Kalmuks, and even in the Georgian and other dialects of the Caucasus. Again, water in Chinese is *shui*; in Thibetan, it is *chhu*; in Lepcha and Bootan, the same; in Dimal, *chi*; in the Naga dialects, *tu*, *tsu*, *zu*. Fire is "he" in Chinese, Amoy, and Japanese; then, becoming aspirated to "hime" in the Magar of Nepal, it became "mi" in the Lepcha, Bootanese, and a whole group of Himalayan languages.

from my own experience and Dr. Hooker's, adding a notice of Cheboo Lama, in illustration of the capacity for mental and moral development attainable by a Lepcha—namely, through European influence and guidance.

My first acquaintance with the Lepchas was made on the frontiers of Nipal and Sikim in a tract named "Oōntoo." Three years before the time of which I speak, the chief of the whole tribe, Butjeet Kaji, was the dewan or prime minister of the Sikim Raja. A struggle for power in that small court ended in the murder of the minister, upon which his successor in the chiefship, with a large following of two hundred or three hundred, abandoned their homes and fled, with wives and children, to Oōntoo, a mountain tract then uninhabited, and covered with an impenetrable forest. On their way through Sikim they plundered and ill-used many of the adherents of their late chief's adversaries. They were pursued, but the Nipalese authorities declared them to be in sanctuary in Nipalese territory.

Under treaty with the British Government, Nipal and Sikim were bound to refer all disputes between them to our decision. The Sikimites claimed Oōntoo as a portion of their territory, demanded its evacuation by Nipal, and the surrender of the Lepcha refugees. The Nipalese held to Oōntoo as belonging to them, and protected the Lepchas, who, in spite of all difficulties, maintained themselves on such animals as they could kill, and such roots, fungi, and garbage as they could eat, until they cleared the forest and grew a crop of Indian corn.

I was deputed from our Presidency at Kathamandoo, along with Nipalese officers, to meet another British officer (Colonel Lloyd), accompanied by Sikim officers, to investigate and report on the dispute, which had then been going on for years. During the investigation I marched all round the disputed tract, accompanied by many of the Lepchas, passing the whole day with them, seeking information from and putting up with them at night, in beautiful huts of green bamboo and green boughs of trees, which they constructed with extraordinary skill and rapidity at every halting place. After ten days of this pleasant intimacy we became great friends, our liking to each other was cordial, and turned out to our mutual advantage; for soon after I left the frontier I was appointed to the civil charge of Darjeeling, a leading man of the tribe came and took service with me there, and was followed by two hundred of his people, who were of the greatest help to us in starting the sanitarium. They were great favourites with all classes of Europeans, and the tribe still continues to be so; they also get on remarkably well with all the other hill tribes, as well as with the natives of the plains,

from whom they acquire very quickly the colloquial use of the Hindostani language. Another instance of their attachment to Europeans was shown by a plant collector of Dr. Hooker's, when we were travelling together in Sikim. In the course of a very long and fatiguing day's march, during which we crossed from Thibet into Sikim, over a pass of 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, we visited a hot spring, at an elevation of 16,000 feet, which was then surrounded with snow. Dr. Hooker, having taken observations of the temperature of the springs, and used other instruments, we proceeded to our halting ground; on arrival, Dr. Hooker proceeded, as usual, to lay out his instruments for observations, when one small thermometer was found to be missing. There was a general inquiry for it among all the Lepchas, but no one had it. Chytoong, the Lepcha, who carried the instruments on that day, was greatly disconcerted, although no one suspected him of making away with the instrument, and he begged to be allowed, then and there, to return to the hot spring, and search for it; greatly against Dr. Hooker's wishes he did so, and quite alone. The tract he had to travel over was quite uninhabited, there was no shelter at the spring, and the cold at night at the glacier, out of which the hot water flowed, we knew was intense, for it was late in October. We continued our journey however next day; on the third day Chytoong overtook us. He came into camp, holding up the thermometer in triumph, and looked delighted. His comrades crowded round to hear his story. He had reached the glacier in time enough before dark to make a diligent search, but it was fruitless. Alone, miles from any human being, in the dark, which Lepchas dread of all things, and with a killing frost, he had no prospect but death before him. Fortunately there was a reservoir of hot water below the outlet of the spring; into this he crept, and in this (the whole body immersed) he passed the night. With daylight he renewed his search; this time with success. This will, I think, be accepted by everybody as an instance of the effect of a very strong sense of duty on this savage, as well as being illustrative of a strong attachment to his European master. The capacity for mental and moral development, evinced by the Lepchas, is best illustrated by a short sketch of the career of Cheboo Lama, the most advanced man among them. He was born in Sikim; his mother was a Lepcha woman, in no way different from the rest of the tribe, who never educate their children. His father was a Thibetan, his tribe unknown. Cheboo, after learning to read in Sikim, went to the Thibetan monastery of Mendooling, where he became a lama, but did not remain long enough to attain any proficiency in learning. At twenty-four years of

age he came to Darjeeling in the train of the Sikim Raja's vakeel or agent; he soon acquired a knowledge of the Hindostani language, and showed much more intelligence than I had yet observed among any of his countrymen. Being a proficient in his own language, as well as in the Thibetan and some other dialects, he was, with the consent of the Raja, his master, appointed an interpreter in my office. Here he became acquainted with our system of government, and gained my confidence and admiration for his honesty and truthfulness. At a later period he was appointed vakeel to the Raja at Darjeeling. His previous training in my office taught him that, in all transactions with the British Government, his master's best interests were always identified with ours. Steadfast in his faith, he was enabled to secure the confidence of his master as well as of our Government. I had frequent occasion to bring his excellent qualities to the notice of the Governor-General, and on two marked occasions he received handsome acknowledgments of his services, which were afterwards signally recognised by his being nominated a Companion of the Order of the Star of India. I believe he was the first Aryan on whom Her Majesty's favour has been thus bestowed, and he richly deserved the honour. The account of the other tribes around Darjeeling, which was announced for this meeting, is deferred to a future occasion; the Lepchas having occupied quite as much of your time as can be spared from the remaining business of the evening.

VOCABULARY OF THE LEPCHA LANGUAGE.

<i>Fire</i> , me	<i>Good</i> , riupa
<i>Water</i> , oong	<i>God</i> , rim
<i>Mud</i> , phut	<i>The sun</i> , suchum
<i>Wood</i> , koong	<i>Moon</i> , lavo
<i>Iron</i> , pinjing	<i>Stars</i> , sokor
<i>Copper</i> , song	<i>Young women</i> , phaling yeu
<i>Silver</i> , kom	<i>Cow</i> , long
<i>Gold</i> , jere	<i>Bull</i> , bop
<i>House</i> , le	<i>He goat</i> , sachroo
<i>Man</i> , murroh	<i>She goat</i> , sarmot
<i>Woman</i> , aiyou	<i>Dog</i> , kushoo
<i>Old man</i> , puneom	<i>Bitch</i> , kushoo mot
<i>Young man</i> , phaling	<i>Fowl</i> , heek
<i>Hen</i> , amot	<i>Cock</i> , aboo
<i>Grey</i> , tok-kook	<i>Wild dog</i> , sitoom
<i>Ivory</i> , tangmoovik	<i>Deer</i> , sineen
<i>A boat</i> , too	<i>Elephant</i> , tengnio
<i>Fish</i> , nghoo	<i>Father</i> , abo
<i>A shake</i> , boo	<i>Mother</i> , amoo
<i>Bird</i> , pho	<i>Brother</i> , eng
<i>Tiger</i> , sitong	<i>Sister</i> , annom

<i>Son</i> , akup	<i>Ear</i> , tongdom
<i>Daughter</i> , te yen	<i>Child</i> , ong
<i>Eldest brother</i> , anum	<i>Horn</i> , aron
<i>Younger brother</i> , eng chumbe	<i>Hoof</i> , abet
<i>Uncle (maternal)</i> , anem	<i>Hide</i> , atoon
<i>Uncle (paternal)</i> , akoo	<i>Bow</i> , silee
<i>Aunt (maternal)</i> , ayong	<i>Arrow</i> , chong
<i>Aunt (paternal)</i> , anen	<i>Sword</i> , paieuk
<i>Cousin</i> , numkup	<i>Gun</i> , sidermi
<i>Husband</i> , gudosum	<i>Gunpowder</i> , jai
<i>Wife</i> , kusiyeu	<i>Ball</i> , dieu
<i>Paddy</i> , yo	<i>Stockade</i> , gree
<i>Rice</i> , yo yeu	<i>Soldier</i> , vik
<i>Barley</i> , mong	<i>Skin</i> , atoon
<i>Wheat</i> , kroo	<i>Bone</i> , kiang-moo
<i>Flour</i> , krootu	<i>Blood</i> , vi
<i>Yams</i> , book	<i>Head</i> , atruk
<i>Milk</i> , neenee	<i>Eye</i> , amik
<i>Butter</i> , mor	<i>Ear</i> , aneor
<i>Salt</i> , vom	<i>Nose</i> , tungnom
<i>Pepper</i> , sukar	<i>Mouth</i> , abong
<i>Garlic</i> , mungoo	<i>Chin</i> , tunho
<i>Spirits</i> , arok	<i>Lips</i> , adool
<i>Beer</i> , chee	<i>Teeth</i> , apho
<i>Tobacco</i> , tamka (Hindoo)	<i>Beard</i> , kirup
<i>Sugar</i> , (no word)	<i>Mustache</i> , bougmot
<i>Pawn</i> (no word)	<i>Neck</i> , tuk tok
<i>Bread</i> (no word)	<i>Chest</i> , kurgoo
<i>Cotton</i> , kirup	<i>Back</i> , achung
<i>Sheep wool</i> , tenk amuel	<i>Fruit</i> , abum
<i>Hair</i> , achom	<i>Flower</i> , boor
<i>Read</i> , lom	<i>Leaf</i> , lop
<i>Bridge</i> , reep	<i>Branch of tree</i> , akong
<i>Ridge</i> , bleoo	<i>Root</i> , aphea
<i>Jungle</i> , pissyok	<i>Warm water</i> , oong rhum
<i>Spring of water</i> , oong	<i>Cold water</i> , oong ning
<i>Rock</i> , long	<i>Grass</i> , piay
<i>Tree</i> , koong	<i>Bamboo</i> , po
<i>Clouds</i> , punbroong	<i>Ratan</i> , roo
<i>Thunder</i> , sungmut	<i>Belly</i> , tabok
<i>Lightning</i> , suleop	<i>Tongue</i> , alee
<i>Rain</i> , so	<i>Thigh</i> , alun
<i>Snow</i> , sonong	<i>Leg</i> , atong
<i>River</i> , oong kioong	<i>Foot</i> , tonleok
<i>Pool</i> , oon-lup	<i>Heel</i> , tumtong
<i>Mountain</i> , tole	<i>Short</i> , atan
<i>Country</i> , leang	<i>Tall</i> , arhen
<i>Arm</i> , poh-chom	<i>Broad</i> , alio
<i>Hand</i> , akuli	<i>Narrow</i> , achim
<i>Finger</i> , huysok	<i>Long</i> , tukphune
<i>Nail of finger</i> , punchi	<i>Strong</i> , chet
<i>Thumb</i> , kudom	<i>War</i> , dioolung
<i>Knee</i> , sakput	<i>Plunder</i> , anyom
<i>Eye-brow</i> , mik-miong	<i>Hunger</i> , kridok
<i>Eye-lash</i> , mik-chiom	<i>Thirst</i> , kridok oong
<i>Elbow</i> , kurtoo	<i>Sleep</i> , mitup

Oil, nem
Mustard, kundong
Flesh, mun
Hard, ahit
Soft, ackok
Wet, shelnoh
Dry, sonha
Heavy, ateem
Light, akioong
Cheap, chepai
Dear, koopai
Light, sasing
Dark, sonup
White, adom
Black, anoh
Green, aphom
Blue, phonplung
Red, aghur
Yellow, poiombo
Bad, mariunch
Fat, ateem
Lean, achim
Calm, sugmnt mudinik

Wind, sugmut
Raw, aysroe
Boiled, amen
Roasted,
Deaf, muteune
Dumb, leenmueneh
Lame, rhuth
Blind, mik misheur
Sick, dok
Before, han
Small, atim
Sweet, ampa
Sour, cheorpa
Bitter, kaipa
Behind, alon
Right, fukzer
Left, takbliong
Above, atong
Below, ameen
Large, ateem
Weak, chet munea neh
Quick, drom drom
Slow, taioh

VOWELS.

The first is pronounced more like our *o* than *a*. The second is the Scottish *a*, as in *awa*. The third is sounded as written with the accent, on the final *o*. The fourth is the long *e*, as eclipse, or *ee* in peer. The fifth is our English *o*, as in obey. The sixth is pronounced as the English word *awe*. The seventh represents *our*, but its pronunciation is not so labial; it is formed by a slightly suppressed aspiration. The eighth is the long *u*, as *oo* in pool. The ninth is sounded as our word *yea*.

The following objects were exhibited before the Society by Dr. A. Campbell, on March 23, 1869 :—

1. Photo of a Lepchā; 2. Photo of Chēboo Lāmā; 3. Lepcha hat; 4. Bān or Lepcha knife; 5. Lepcha bow and arrows; 6. Murwa or beer choonga; 7. Silver and coral ornaments worn by Lepchas; 8. Brass ditto; 9. Coloured drawings of Lepchas; 10. Specimen of Lepcha language; 11. Specimen of Limbōō language; 12. Specimen of Thibetan language; 13. Cotton robe of Lepchas; 14. A Doeje.

XV.—On Prehistoric Archæology of India. By COL. MEADOWS TAYLOR, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., M.R.I.A., etc.

It is impossible that the subject of this paper, "The Pre-historic Archæology of India," could have received a higher tribute to its importance than to have come under the special notice of this learned Society; and it was to me a very unex-

pected honour, not being a member of the Society, that I should have been invited to illustrate it. The question is one in which I take a very deep interest—one to which, in common with some other former residents in India, I have been enabled from time to time to add some practical details from personal observation, and one in which the present active progress in several localities of India, and, as I may perhaps say, newly-awakened desire of extension and illustration in England, have to me a peculiar charm. In its relation to India, it is no longer confined specially to that country and to the remains of unknown peoples, all traces of whom have long since passed away. Had it been so indeed, it might, like other points of antiquarian interest there, have possessed a local interest only; but this, as I trust to be able to show in this paper, is not the case; and as investigation has progressed, not only have many material discoveries been made, but links, the importance of which cannot be overlooked, appear in the chain which unites the pre-historic archæology of India to that of Europe. We may not, for many years to come, be able to unite those links in one strong harmonious chain; but it seems to me that the progress to this end is already great and satisfactory, and will be best perfected by the co-operative labours and deliberations of the scientific societies of England and India acting in concert. If I am correct, this is the first occasion in which the pre-historic archæology of India has been publicly and specially discussed in England, and I am well assured that from India there will be hearty and efficient responses to it from time to time. It cannot now, at least, be said, as it used to be said, that scientific antiquarian discoveries in India met with no encouragement in England, except among a very limited number of persons. At the last meeting of the British Association at Norwich, the ethnology of India was, for the first time, brought under prominent notice by the President, in connection with its pre-historic archæology; and that high recognition of its importance has been practically seconded by meetings of this learned Society, in which not only Indian ethnological but archæological subjects have been illustrated by able contributors. In this movement, therefore, India will recognise an English interest in the discoveries, made from time to time, which has heretofore been wanting, and which, or I am greatly mistaken, will act as a more powerful incentive to local exertion than any other. Nor is it, as it used to be, to our own countrymen alone that we have to look for discoveries and illustrations of science. We receive proof continually, that well-educated natives—a class which I rejoice to observe is largely and rapidly on the increase in every part of India—are beginning to bestir themselves in local in-

vestigations; to see their importance in regard to the former history and condition of their own country, and to second, in many important particulars, the exertions of English residents. We meet, now, with well-written and well-considered antiquarian and ethnological papers in local Indian periodicals: and I, for one, accept these as a hopeful commencement, well remembering the time when any attempt at such contributions to these sciences, by any natives of India, would have been impossible. I say, then, that ethnology and pre-historic archæology must necessarily receive assistance and advancement from that unanimity of action and encouragement which will proceed from mutual recognition of practical services and discoveries in England and in India; and the closer the bonds are drawn between working men in both countries, the more enlarged and beneficial will be the results.

Since I have become personally interested in the subject of this paper, I have often wondered why, in the minute topography of the great trigonometrical survey departments, and especially in its earlier work in the southern and midland districts of India, discoveries of pre-historic remains were not made. In the details of that great work, which were minutely laid down on the very large scale of four inches to a mile in the filling up of lesser triangulations by plane table work, every rock has found a place, every streamlet and brook has been traced to its source, and the positions of remarkable trees, temples, tombs, and ruins, accurately described; yet the very notable groups of cairns, cromlechs, and other cognate remains, over which the surveyor's marks have passed, were never, to my knowledge, noticed at all. The reports and journals of Colonel Lambton, and of Dr. Voysey the eminent geologist, and of Colonel Mackenzie, rich in other antiquarian researches, make, so far as I am aware, no mention at all of them; and yet portions of the Deccan, of the Southern Mahratta country, the ceded districts, and the South of India abounded with them. I can only account for this by the supposition, that fifty years ago pre-historic archæology was comparatively unknown as a science, and the subject, perhaps, little cared for; and that he would have been a bold theorist indeed who would have advanced confidently that the so-called Keltic or Druidical remains of Europe were found to be repeated in India!

Passing, therefore, the trigonometrical survey as barren of pre-historic archæological discovery, I come to the first I have been able to find (though there may possibly be others on record with which I am unacquainted) that by Mr. Babington, of the Bombay Civil Service, in a paper read before the Literary Society of Bombay on the 26th December, 1820, and

printed in the third volume of their Transactions. The remains described and illustrated by engravings, are the Kodey Kulls, Topie Kulls, or Pandoo Koolies, as they are variously termed, of Malabar, and which appear to abound in that locality. The meaning of Kodey Kull is literally umbrella stone; of Topie Kull, cap or covering stone. In the engravings, the former are represented as consisting of several stones set upon end with their points meeting, on which a large mushroom-shaped stone has been fixed. The Topie Kull, of a large mushroom-shaped stone placed on the ground. Underneath these are found urns of baked pottery containing portions of human bones, mixed with charcoal and a *fine powder or sand*, in which also the urns had been placed. I must beg that this meeting will do me the favour to bear this remarkable circumstance particularly in mind, as it will form hereafter one of the main links by which subsequent discoveries can, I think, be brought into connection with each other. This is the fact of a foreign earth—that is, an earth not belonging to the locality—being used to cover in funeral urns interred in the monuments, whether Kodey Kulls, Topie Kulls, Kistvaens, or Cairns. Mr. Babington gives also what he states as an absurd legend, but which has a far more extensive and important application than he then thought of, that the sepulchres he opened were those of dwarfs or pigmies, who inhabited the locality at a very distant period of time.

I should detain you too long if I followed minutely Mr. Babington's detail of his explorations; but for convenience of reference and comparison with results elsewhere, I will append to this paper an extract from his article. Suffice it to say here, that under the Topie Kull, or covering stone, a flag or flat stone was found, which, on being removed, disclosed an urn or urns, resting in a shell corresponding with its shape, filled in with fine sand. On ledges near the urn were found remains of iron implements and weapons, with heads of various kinds, an iron tripod, lamp, etc.; and I shall hereafter bring to your notice the curious and unmistakeable similarity, if not identity, of these remains with others discovered elsewhere. Mr. Babington offers no suggestion or hypothesis as to the real nature or origin of these monuments; but those who are acquainted with Mr. Godfrey Higgins' work on Celtic Druids, will remember that he has noticed Mr. Babington's discovery, reproduced the illustrations, and claimed the remains as Celtic, and as a link between Celtic remains in Europe and Asia.

The next discovery I can trace is, that made by Captain Harkness, of the Madras Army, during a tour made on the Neilgherry Hills in 1831, the particulars of which were published in an illustrated volume in 1832. Captain Harkness found some groups of cairns on a hill called Sarôni, near

d, and examined some of them. They are low mounds rising to the centre, surrounded by circular walls of about three feet high, and about six to eight feet in diameter. On removal of the surface earth, a pavement of large stones was found resting upon smaller stones. Below this was a layer of brownish-black mould, two feet in depth, interspersed with broken pottery, charcoal, and broken clay images, and with other soil of a *blackier and finer kind*. At a foot from the surface, he arrived at the natural argillaceous soil of the locality, which did not vary for a great distance; nor could any trace of black mould be found, except in the cairn; and which, like the fine sand of the Topie, was confined to the grave itself. Below the covering were numerous urns; some perfect, some broken; and some filled with black earth (as those of the Topie Kull were filled with sand), pieces of bone, and charcoal. Captain Harkness could discover no local tradition regarding these monuments, and he submits no claim or hypothesis as to their prehistoric origin.

Captain Harkness was followed at an interval of a few years by Major H. Congreve, of the Madras Artillery, in a long and interesting paper, published in vol. xiv. of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1847. The main object of this paper is to prove, from the monuments discovered and examined on the Neilgherries, that the Thatawars or Todas are descendants of ancient Scythians, who settled there in prehistoric times, and still exist; and he boldly claims for these monuments a Scytho-Celtic or Druidic origin, and identity with European remains.

It is not, perhaps, without reason, though the ancestors of the Todas may not have been Celts. He found cairns with single and double rows of stones round them disposed in circles; temples of large rocks set on end, as at Abury in Wiltshire, and Rowldrich in Oxfordshire; single rocks as altars, surrounded by rough circular walls and rings of stones; barrows enclosed with a trench and mound, and single stones ten to twelve feet high, etc. The cairns, he states, may be found in hundreds near Ootacamund alone, and they exist in groups in every part of the Neilgherry range of mountains.

On opening one of these cairns he found the two covering stones, as described by Captain Harkness, two feet from the surface; and these being removed, circular urns appeared placed in niches or cells, with others around them, all placed in fine black mould; nor in any case did the construction of cairns vary, from the smallest with a flag stone, under which was a singular urn and arrow head, to the larger ones, in which numerous urns and weapons were found.

Nor was his discovery of cromlechs and kistvaens the less remarkable. At Acheny, near Kotagherry, on the same range of mountains, he found twelve perfect cromlechs, of the usual construction; and was informed by the people that they had been the dwelling-places of *pigmies not a foot high who existed before mankind*. In another locality near Adi Raer Cottay, Captain Congreve found a group of kistvaens or closed cromlechs; and he mentions incidentally, that similar remains are found in the low country in bare and open places. One kistvaen, composed of monolithic slabs or flags, had a hole about nine inches in diameter in the eastern slab, and contained broken pottery, with pieces of bone and charcoal imbedded in black earth. I need not, perhaps, follow Captain Congreve's paper further, and any reference to his inferences and learned disquisitions upon Scythic races and their migrations, would be out of place here; but I will quote his remarkable words, "that there is not a relic of Druidism existing in England, the type of which I have not found on these hills."

In the same volume of the Madras Transactions will be found a paper by the Rev. W. Taylor, "On supposed Celtic or Scythian vestiges remaining in various parts of the Carnatic," and he alludes to many groups of ancient sepulchral remains existing in Southern India; but no descriptions of these are given, and the local Hindoo legends and superstitions regarding them, are confused and valueless; nor can Mr. Taylor reconcile any of them with Scythic or Celtic traditions.

I now come to my own share in the discovery of pre-historic monuments, and must premise the observations by stating that they have already been made known by publication—first, and as they progressed, from 1851 to 1853, in the Journals of the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society for those years; secondly, on my return from India, in a paper read by me at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, on the 12th May, 1862, and published in its Transactions, vol. xxiv of 1865. The Academy, with great liberality, and at a very considerable expense, had all my original sketches, surveys of groups of cromlechs and cairns, etc., engraved; and I was not only then enabled to bring forward all the illustrations I had prepared in India, but to describe the various remains, with all the particulars I had gathered from the period of my first discoveries in 1850-51 to 1860, when I left India. I beg now to present to this Society a copy of that article for reference.

The locality in India, where these discoveries were made, is the province of Sorapoor, in the Deccan, which, in the form of an irregular triangle, lies immediately westward of, and above, the junction of the Krishna and Bheema rivers. At the period

of my connection with it as political superintendent, Sorapoor was an independent principality; but, owing to the rebellion of the Rajah in 1857, the state was confiscated, and by the treaty of 1860 attached to the dominions of H. H. the Nizam. As executive administrator of this state during the Rajah's minority, it was part of my duty to make constant tours through its districts, and a village named Rajun Kolloor in the south-west portion of it, was an ordinary place for encampment. It was at this village that I observed the first and grandest group of cromlechs and kistvaens, with cairns, in the Sorapoor territory. I confess that at first I was very strongly perplexed by them. The monuments were in all respects similar to cromlechs, as I knew them from description; but could Druidical or Celtic cromlechs be supposed to exist under any ordinary form in the Deccan? I had then no knowledge of Captain Harkness's or Capt. Congreve's discoveries on the Neilgherries.

The official statistical reporter upon the southern portion of the Nizam's dominions was then the late Dr. Alexander Walker of the Bombay army, an intimate friend, possessed of some personal acquaintances with the pre-historic remains of his native country, Scotland; and I waited till he could come to me to decide upon the character of what I had found. Dr. Walker had been in the last degree incredulous as to my hypothesis from my description; but personal inspection of this, and other groups in the vicinity, convinced him of their identity with European monuments of the same character so far as construction and contents are concerned. The cromlechs were closed on three sides, the south-west front being open. The kistvaens were closed on all four sides, and both were covered at top by monolith slabs of large size. Some of the kistvaens had a round hole from six to nine inches in diameter in the centre of the south or south-west side. The cromlechs contained nothing, and had in almost every instance been set up on the bare rock; but the kistvaens were partially filled with fine black or grey earth intermixed with broken pottery, partly calcined bones, and pieces of charcoal.

I much regret that my survey of the largest group was lost; but in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy that of the smaller is given at page 330. The monuments, whether cromlechs or kistvaens, were constructed of slabs of vitrified sandstone, obtained from a bed of naked rock about two miles from the group. I say vitrified, because the sandstone and laminar limestone in conjunction with it had been changed in character, in fact vitrified, by contact with granite thrown up evidently in a state of fusion, and the distance to which the heat had extended is distinctly traceable.

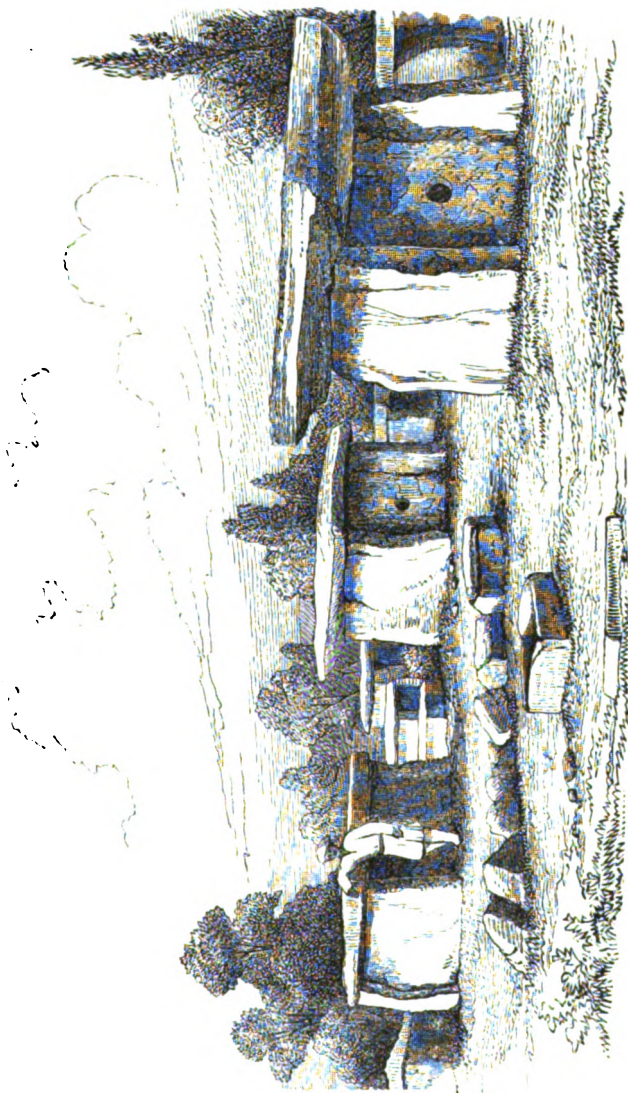
Some of the cromlechs and kistvaens were of very large size; the slabs of stone of which they are constructed are placed upright on their sides and covered with a slab monolith which projected over them. They were built in fact like a house of cards.

The dimensions of the largest cromlech at Rajun Kolloor (see Plate 1, fig. 1), was as follows:—side walls, fifteen feet three inches long by nine feet broad, and two feet nine inches to one foot thick; the covering slab, fifteen feet nine inches long by ten feet nine inches broad, and one foot to two feet nine inches thick. The largest kistvaen had a top twelve feet by ten feet six inches, and nine inches to a foot in thickness; the side slabs being twelve feet two inches long by eight feet broad.

If the dimensions of the largest of these two monuments be compared with those of the great Cromlech at Plas Newydd in Anglesea, the largest I believe in Great Britain, the Cromlech at Rajun Kolloor appears to have the advantage in size, as it certainly has in symmetry of construction. The largest Plas Newydd monument has an upper slab of twelve feet seven inches long, twelve broad, and four thick, supported by five tall stones; the second a square top of five and a half feet each way, supported by four stones.

It will be admitted at once I think, how strong an archaeological interest centres in the Kistvaens which have circular holes in one of their wall-sides. Those I found at Rajun Kolloor, Haggeritgi, and elsewhere, are identical with those discovered on the Neilgherries by Capt. Congreve, with the kistvaen, called Kitscoty house, near Aylesford in Kent, as figured in Higgins' *Celtic Druids*, and with those in Wales and other localities in Europe. While by Mr. Bell's *Travels in Circassia* we find that they exist there also. In none of these localities is there any difference in construction, in the position of the hole, or in the apparent situation of the monument. It was evidently devised as a receptacle for the ashes of the dead—perhaps of a family—which could be placed in it through the hole, as necessity required.

Several other groups of cromlechs and kistvaens were pointed out to me by the people. Next to those at Rajun Kolloor, the largest was at Haggeritgi, four miles west, where there was a group of twenty-three perfect cromlechs and kistvaens of medium size. None of them had ever been disturbed. Wherever I found them the same tradition was attached to them, that they were Morie Munni, or Mories houses; these Mories having been *dwarfs*, who inhabited the country before the present race of men. As I have already stated, Captain Congreve found the same tradition existent on the Neilgherries,



KISTVAEN AT BAJUN KOLLOOR.

and Mr. Babington in Malabar ; and all agree in very singular and most interesting exactness with the traditions of Wales, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, and Brittany, in fact wherever similar pre-historic monuments have been discovered and are at present existent.

I now pass to the second division of the Pre-historic Monuments of Sorapoor, the Cairns, which are found in very considerable numbers in that province, and for the most part in groups small and large. These cairns consists of single, double, and treble circles of large stones. In some instances the spaces between the circles have been paved or filled up with large pebbles beaten down with clay. In others the circle stones have been simply placed round the covering earth. The circles vary from six up to thirty-six feet in diameter ; but the most ordinary size is from twelve to eighteen feet. The covering earth has been heaped up as a mound, rising in the centre to about three feet above a datum line drawn from the bottoms of the outside circle stones. This portion of the cairns I found to contain nothing but earth and small stones ; and it was after its removal that the extent, both in width and depth, could be ascertained.

If possible, the Sorapoor cairns afforded greater interest in examination, and stronger evidences of identity with similar remains in Europe, than the cromlechs and kistvaens. The first I opened belonged to a large group lying in a dry uncultivated piece of land near the village of Jewurgi. The whole formed an irregular parallelogram, measuring 336 by 316 yards, and contained 268 perfect and some doubtful cairns. The natural ground was a soft greyish argillaceous shale, on which the stone circles (which, one and all, were of large boulders of black and green stone) had a remarkable and quite unmistakable appearance. These large boulders had been brought from the trap formation, which begins some miles to the westward. A survey plan of this group will be found at page 338 of my illustrated article.

In several instances the surface mounds of cairns were examined without results of any kind ; but in one, trace of whitish-grey earth, called in the country Pandri Mutti, attracted the attention of the workmen, and was followed. Presently a large limestone flag was found, and shortly afterwards two slabs of limestone appeared at the south-west side of the excavation, about three feet below the upper flag, set up on edge parallel to each other, at two feet apart, which, in this, as in every other case, proved to be the entrance, as it were, to what was below. And here I must request this meeting to remember, that in Mr. Babington's description of the

Kodey Kull, he mentions precisely similar results. There was an upper slab covering the urn, and at the side below, two stones which led to the cell in which the urn was found.

As the particulars of several excavations are given by me in the paper already alluded to, I need not perhaps state more than the general results, which are as follows. The graves or pits below the cairns were from nine to fourteen feet deep, dug out of the shale, and from ten to fifteen feet diameter at the top, decreasing to about eight feet at the bottom. The floor of the pit was laid with limestone slabs or flags, and upon these was a cist composed of similar slabs or flags set up on their sides, in two compartments, the cist being covered by slabs of the same material. Around the head of each cist were found circular vases or urns made of red and black pottery, glazed and unglazed, spear and arrow heads, fragments of swords and small and large bill-hooks, iron lamps, and in one instance an iron tripod, *precisely similar*, as also is a lamp, to those figured in Mr. Babington's article.

The strangest circumstance, however, in connection with the human remains found in these cairns, was the unmistakable evidence of human sacrifice to a very great extent. In one compartment of a cist was a perfect male skeleton; in the other, one, two, or three smaller skeletons, evidently of females, some with the skulls separate from the bodies, and the positions of the skeletons, lying on their faces, or otherwise disposed quite irregularly.

It was above the cist, however, that the evidence of the destruction of numbers of human beings was the strongest; for throughout the space between the cist and the upper flag-stone, skeletons and portions of skeletons, in every possible form and position of irregularity, were found in considerable numbers, the skulls, in many instances, being separate from the body.* In one grave a skeleton, perfect except the skull, was found lying transversely across the lid of the cist, the skull having been placed in the centre of the body with the face to the foot of the cist. In another, a skull was found by itself, placed on a ledge in the shale above the head of the cist.† Nothing could be clearer indeed, than that numbers of persons

* Dr. Bell, in writing to me upon a cairn near Hyderabad, says "the whole interior was filled with stones and with white earth, evidently not carelessly thrown in, but placed with care. The bones are all mixed, so that I could trace no position likely for a body to be placed in." This is exactly confirmatory of my experience, only in this instance the bottom cist was wanting.

† This skull, with several others in good preservation, was forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

had been sacrificed and their bodies thrown into each grave as it was being filled up, with the grey earth before mentioned. And it may be conjectured that these were captives, or the dependants of the person buried in the cist, with his wives sacrificed at the same time.

Of such groups of cairns there are several in other localities of Sorapoor, which are enumerated in my illustrated paper, by which also it will be seen that the results of examination did not differ from those of Jewurgi.

But in another place, a group of fine well constructed cairns near the village of Chekunhalli, about seven miles south-west of Sorapoor, afforded entirely different results. The graves were ten feet deep, dug in granite soil. They had the same construction as the others—both as to outward circle stones, covering upper slab, and inner entrance stones—and contained large well shaped urns three and a half feet high and two feet in diameter, which were filled with human bones and ashes, grey earth, and bits of charcoal. These urns had been laid in the same fine soft grey earth used in the other cairns, which was entirely foreign to the red granite soil of the locality. It is also interesting to observe that both in shape and in size the urns found by me in the Chekunhalli cairns, which are now in possession of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, are identical with those found by Mr. Babington in the Kodey Kulls of Malabar. Both have pointed bottoms, and are not intended for standing alone, but for being placed in cells.

Another peculiarity of all cairns examined by me was, that the slabs above, the guiding entrance stone below, and the cists, where there were any, lay invariably north-east and south-east by compass.

Thus it became conclusive that the Sorapoor cairn constructors were divided into two classes—one which buried their dead, accompanied by human sacrifices; and the other which burned their dead and buried the ashes in cairns, or collected them and placed them in kistvaens. This result appears to tally precisely with the experience of cairns and barrows in this country; and the Rev. Canon Greenwell's labours and discoveries, with which you are well acquainted, afford ample evidence on both points. Consider, too, the strange coincidence of an earth, foreign to that of the locality, being a prominent feature of all cairn examinations from Mr. Babington's to my own, and the exact similarity of the positions of upper slabs and inner entrance stones. Surely these points could not have been fortuitous.

In further illustration of them, however, I must bring you to England. On the 9th January, 1865, I read a short paper

before the R. I. A. upon the opening of some cairns in Twizell Moor, in Northumberland, and it was published with my article on Soorapoor remains. Twizell belonged to my uncle, the late Mr. P. Selby, the eminent naturalist. I paid him a hurried visit in October 1860, and when shooting on the moor I came upon some considerable groups of cairns, which appeared to me identical with those of the Deccan. I was told, however, that these were not cairns; that the only cairns known were large heaps of stones which had already been examined, and their contents removed. My opinion was not however changed: and in 1864, during another visit, I examined the moor in company with Major Luard, an active member of the Royal Archæological Society. I pointed out to him several separate groups of cairns with single, double and treble circles of stones, twelve to eighteen feet in diameter, and in some instances traces of pavement between the circles. It was evident to us both that these were of far greater antiquity than those built of loose stones. I could not stay to undertake the examination, but pointed out where (if I was correct as to their being cairns at all) he would find the covering slab, underneath which would be either a skeleton or skeletons, or an urn or urns containing human ashes. Major Luard examined several of these old cairns, and sent me particulars of two, which are fully given in the paper above alluded to. The results were, to my great wonder and gratification, exactly what I had described they might be. The covering slabs were under the centre of the mound, and under them an urn greatly decayed, containing charcoal, bones, and ashes, mixed with fine *red earth*, which had been laid in a cell of stones built together, all being covered in by *fine red earth, not belonging to the locality*, which is peat. The stones and remains lay west and north-east, and the ground on which the cairns are slopes to the south-west. It is very remarkable also that the method of construction of the Twizell cairns, as will be seen by the diagram, agrees more nearly with the interior of Mr. Babington's Kodey Kull than with any other.

In this case, therefore, I think it will be admitted that the fact of similarity between Indian and English cairns received valuable corroboration; and it is to such facts that we must look with increasing interest as the results of identification proceed and accumulate.

But to return to Soorapoor. It was not long before other pre-historic discoveries were made in regard to natural rocks and tors, surrounded by circles of stones. One of these, strange to say, is still a place of sacrifice by shepherds. Of these rocks my sketches are engraved in my paper. There could be no

reasonable doubt that these rocks—and in particular one near Shahpoor, which had a double circle of stones around it, with two large rocks placed as an entrance to the south—must have been temples, or possibly places of sacrifice.

My most important discoveries in regard to rocks placed, or set up artificially, were the great group at Vibut Halli, which was intended to be a square of twenty-two rocks on each side, or 484 in all. It is partly incomplete, and the area measures 360 by 340 feet. What have been placed, however, so as to form squares of about eighteen feet, form an astonishing memorial of labour, both as to the great regularity with which these large masses were laid down, and their size. But these were far transcended by the great parallelogram near Shahpoor, where fifty-six huge rocks enclose a space and tumulus 400 feet by 260. The size of some of these rocks far exceeds dimensions given by Mr. Higgins, of rocks at Carnac; and it is nearly impossible to conceive how such masses were moved, some of them exceeding 200 tons in weight, from the granite hills of Shahpoor three miles distant.* I must again refer you to my illustrated article for views and plans of this most curious and interesting place. I may state, however, that on driving two levels through the tumulus at right angles, I found it to consist of layers of human ashes, charcoal, and pieces of bone. It had in fact been a place of cremation on a large scale, formed of successive layers of burnings, and had so gradually risen; and it was also evident that as each body had been burned, the place had been covered up with the same soft whitish-grey earth found in the cairns; the natural earth of the locality being red granite soil.

I will not, gentlemen, detain you further with my own work, though I could say much in illustration of the remains I have found, and their relations to those of Europe, and I have still to mention discoveries elsewhere of the same character.

Near the city of Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's dominions, there are many large groups of cairns, similar in construction to those of Shorapoor; and friends whom I enlisted in the work made many excavations. Among other articles two bells—one bell-metal or bronze, one copper—were found, with

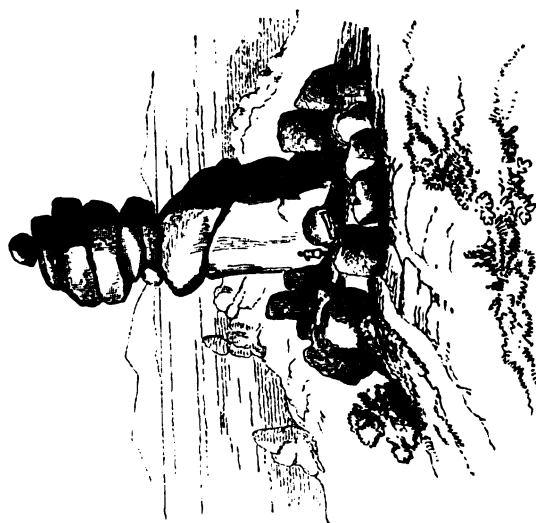
* A few instances of actual measurements may suffice for illustration:—Granite rock ten feet five inches long, seven feet four inches broad, five feet one inch high, girth twenty-six feet nine inches; estimated weight at 200 lbs. per cubic foot—442,000 lbs., or 19 tons. Granite rock ten feet one inch long, nine feet seven inches broad, five feet two inches high, girth twenty-seven feet nine inches; estimated weight at 600,000 lbs., or 267 tons. Granite rock nine feet five inches long, eight feet four inches broad, five feet eight inches high, girth twenty-seven feet two inches; estimated at 435,000 lbs., or 198 tons.

pottery, spear and arrow heads, and the like. I esteemed the discovery of bells as a decisive and peculiar establishment, evidently with the Neilgherry cairns and those of Europe. Can the fact of human sacrifice be accepted in the same category? Everything that was found was carefully preserved; some articles in the local museum, others, with the bells, were sent by me, as also every thing obtained at the Sorapoor country, including several bells, to the Asiatic Society's Museum in Bombay.

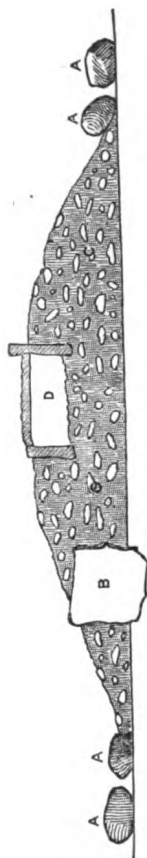
Very large groups or fields of cairns were discovered by a friend, Captain now Colonel Doria, on the road from Hyderabad to Masulipatam. "There appeared to be thousands," he wrote to me. In those he examined, the cists seemed, from the size of the slabs employed, to be rather covered cromlechs or kistvaens than ordinary cists: and in several instances no impression could be made on them. Near the town of Goormutcal, between Sorapoor and Hyderabad there is a fine field of cairns; and many numerous groups about the ancient town and fort of Dewarconda, about forty miles south-east of Hyderabad, a place of great antiquarian interest, and at Narkael-pulli cairns were examined by Dr. Bell, and he thus describes the excavation of one of them:—"After clearing away the earth to the depth of two feet six inches we came upon the covering slabs, which were three in number. The top was closed by three pieces. On clearing away the fallen earth we came upon a row of pots—urns—at each end, and in the centre a skeleton, lying in such a position as to leave no doubt but that the corpse had been placed upon its belly; a piece of iron was found among the bones of the left hand. In one of the urns were portions of the bones of a child, calcined."

South-west from Sorápoor lies the large collectorate of Bellary bordering upon Mysore, and in communication with Mr. Pelly, then (1852) collector, in regard to particulars of cromlechs and kistvaens, he was good enough to require the local native authorities of his district to furnish them; and the result was forwarded to me in an official return, which, as curious in many respects, I beg leave to append to this paper. It is headed "Statement showing the particulars of Dwellings of Human Beings of *diminutive stature*, situated in the Bellary District;" and mention of them as Mohories is made in the notes. The tradition of these remains being the dwelling-places of dwarfs is thus proved not to be confined to Sorapoor or the Neilgherry mountains. The amount of monuments returned was no less than 2129 of all descriptions; cairns, however, are not mentioned.

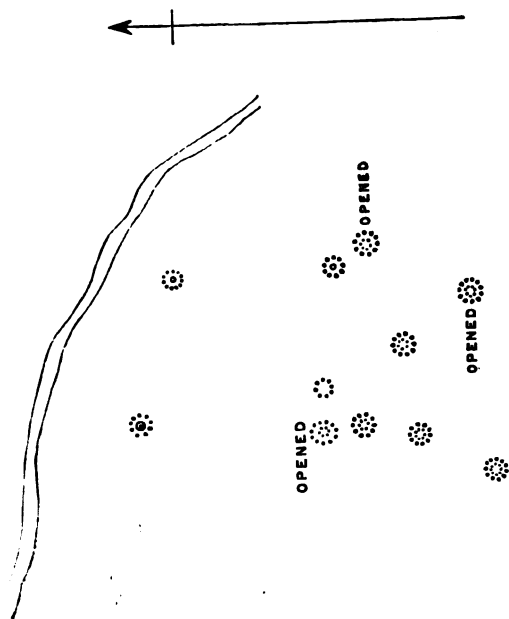
In 1851-52 the Rev. G. Kies, a German clergyman attached



Druidical Remains at Shornspoor Hills, p. 172



Cairn at Jewrug



Cairns at Chickunhull, p. 171.



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to the German Mission at Dharwar, who was on a visit to me at Sorapoor, made many discoveries of cairns, cromlechs, and kistvaens, on his return to me through the Rachore Doab, the district lying between the Krishna and the Toongbudra rivers; and those on the hill of Yemmee Gooda (the hill of buffaloes) were unusually fine and numerous. They do not, however, differ in character from those already noticed at Rajun Kolloor, &c., and need not therefore be particularly described.

In the year 1854, when I was Deputy-Commissioner of the Nuldroog District, then recently transferred by the Nizam to the Government of India, I discovered near the town of Tooljapoor a group of cairns, and an isolated rock near them surrounded by a ring of smaller rocks. These cairns are of the same character as those of Sorapoor, but are much more decayed. They are the most northern I have found, and I could discover no others in that district.

Since I left India, an Archæological Society has been established at Nagpore, in the Transactions of which will be found details of many interesting and satisfactory excavations of cairns, and the remains found in them. Two of the most remarkable of which were, the model in iron of a Scythian bow and a snaffle. There has been no discovery there as yet, to my knowledge, of cromlechs or kistvaens. But a remarkable discovery of large cromlechs was made by Mr. Mulheran, of the Trigonometrical Survey of India, in, I think, 1865 or 1866, in the forest on the Wurda and Godavery, called the Nirmul Jungle, which was then being surveyed. The cromlechs, by a photograph sent to me, did not differ in character from those I have described; but in connection with them, forming portions of the groups depicted, are two large stone crosses in perfect preservation; monoliths, standing over eight feet high from the surface of the soil in which they are deeply imbedded. I beg to present copies of these stereoscope photographs reproduced by Messrs. Cundall and Fleming, but can advance no hypothesis as to the crosses.

I think I have now enumerated and described generally all the localities of India in which, so far as my knowledge extends, the pre-historic remains exist; and it will be seen how large a field still exists for investigation. Taking a line from Bellary to Nagpore as the northern boundary as yet of discovery, it cannot be doubted that to the south of it abundant proof exists of large and small groups of cairns, cromlechs, kistvaens, topi kulls, pandoo kooles, and other pre-historic remains which are in a great measure already known from examination and description; but we may conclude that discovery is by no means exhausted, and future investigations by local archæolo-

gists may bring many features to light of which we have at present necessarily no idea. From the north, east, and north-west of India, and from its central provinces, we have at present no information. Do such pre-historic remains exist in any of these localities? And if so, in what form? It has come to be understood, as was stated in the opening address of the President of the British Association last year, that the hill tribe of Khassias, inhabiting a portion of the north-east of Bengal, now construct funereal monuments which are identical with the pre-historic remains of Europe; and the Government of India has been called upon for special information on the subject. Could not similar details, in the form of the Bellary return, be called for from other localities, and could not, in course of time, a mass of information be thus obtained which would enable us to trace the areas of country formerly occupied by the people who created the remains of which we know already?

Who were these people? Not certainly the wild aborigines of India as they were at the earliest periods of Aryan record. For the most part these aboriginal tribes are not much altered in general character from what they were when Aryan or Turanian invaders drove them from the plains into their present forests and mountains. Their customs, and religion such as it is, are probably as little changed as their language; and had they at any time possessed the art of erecting cromlechs and kistvaens, we should see them still in some form or other, and should be able to trace in their funeral ceremonies rites which would identify them with the cairn constructors.

Were they then Aryan Scythians, who brought with them their immemorial customs to India, and there, as well as in Europe, left these imperishable traces of progress? That there were Aryans in the Deccan at one period there can be no doubt. In the Canarese, a Dravidian language, Mahratta is now termed *Arya Mât*—Aryan speech, and the features, complexion, and intellectual character of the Brahmins and other higher classes of western India as much prove them to be Aryan, as similar characteristics affect similar classes in northern India, the great seat of Aryan power.

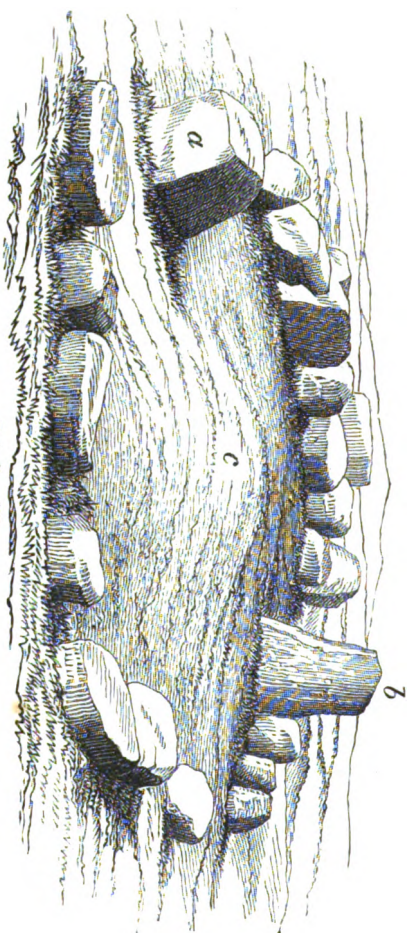
If then the cairn constructors be really Scytho-Aryan, by what route did they reach western India? Mr. George Campbell, in his able review of Indian Ethnology, suggests the valley of the Saraswati river as marking the progress of the Brahmins southwards to Maharastra; but if the cairn constructing people came by that route, there would be evidences of their progress and former occupations in pre-historic remains; we should hear of them in the north-west provinces, in Cashmere, in Guzerat, and Malwa, or in the valleys of the Indus and Ganges. As yet,



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p. 171.



Twissell, p. 172.

however, no traces of these remains have, to my knowledge, been found in these localities. Do they exist in Affghanistan, or in any of the passes by which Scytho-Aryan invaders may have entered India? If the Aryan or Turanian advance into Europe can be traced by pre-historic remains in Circassia, and by countless cairns and barrows on the steppes of southern Russia and elsewhere, it would add to our certainty regarding the Indian cairn constructors, if corresponding traces could be found in a north-westerly direction from India; but these for the present, are, as far as I know, entirely wanting.

We have only therefore to deal with what we actually know, while we can hardly attribute the exact similarities of detail which I have enumerated to mere accident, in their strange and interesting similitude with the pre-historic remains of our own country and of Europe at large.

It has I am aware been advanced as an hypothesis, and is still the opinion of many, that the similarity between pre-historic remains in widely separated countries does not necessarily prove identity of race; and that the common instincts of humanity have suggested common methods of sepulture, cremation, and memorial of the dead. But I own this kind of vague generalisation does not satisfy me, in the face of such exact points of similitude as are found to exist between the pre-historic remains of Europe and India. Such can hardly have been the result of accident, or any common human instinct. They could not have supplied the provision of an earth strange to the locality in which urns or bodies were buried; they could not have produced cromlechs and kistvaens, nor the round holes on one of the sides of the kistvaens; they could not have suggested the cairns with their remarkable circles of stones, nor those evidences of burial containing human remains in urns, and bodies in stone cists, with the horrible accompaniment of profuse human sacrifice; they could not have provided rock altars surrounded by circles of stones and rocks, as in the Neilgherries, in Sorapoor, and in England and Wales; nor could they have provided those groups of massive placed rocks which, whether in the Neilgherries, at Vibathalli and Shahpoor in Sorapoor, at Ebury, Rowldrich, and other places in England, and at Karnac in Brittany—excite wonder and admiration.

While then I for one cannot refuse their evidence that such striking and harmonious details of identity supply the strongest presumptive proofs of identity of race, I by no means desire that my hypothesis should be received as conclusive; and I leave its ratification or otherwise to the results of future investigations both here and in India.

There is, however, one point more, which, in conclusion, I

may be allowed to notice, and that is the ethnological fact of a common language having been possessed by Aryans of Europe and of India, in regard to which there is now, from modern philological investigation, no cause for doubt. I need not enter into particulars here which are known to most; but if the Sanscrit-speaking Aryans carried with their language, their religious belief whatever it may have been, and their funeral customs into Europe—and have left, as is not denied, imperishable monuments of themselves—may it not also have been that the Aryan invaders of India, following in successive waves, did the same? The evidence of identity of language is at least indisputable; and that of identity of pre-historic remains and monuments, is perhaps hardly less important and remarkable.

Again, another and more striking point for consideration is, whether these pre-historic remains are Turanian, and not Aryan. The languages of the present people, among whom they are found, are Dravidian, not Aryan. They form a group of themselves, differing from one another, and yet united as to original basis of construction, having more or less an admixture of Aryan, that is Sanscrit words, which are easily accounted for. Dr. Schmidt, a German missionary, who wrote on the language of the Todawars of the Neilgherry hills, is of opinion that the Toda language has more affinity with Tamul than any other; and he quotes Dr. Rukert, professor of Oriental languages at Berlin, to the effect that he had discovered a strong analogy between Tamul and the Tartar languages; and Dr. Schmidt is of opinion that, by comparing the genius of the Tamul language with other tongues, the race or tribe which afterwards split into Tamulians, Malialim, Canarese, and Telingas, must be a Caucasian race, and must have immigrated into the plains of India very early.

Are we prepared, however, to name these remains, whether of the East or West, Turanian? I think that investigation has not proceeded far enough to decide the question; and it certainly would be out of place to attempt to discuss it here. One thing, however, is certain, that if the Dravidian languages be Turanian, no pre-historic remains that I am aware of have been met with in India beyond their present existing boundaries. But I must apologise for this digression.

Again, as to identification, why should there be found such remarkable coincidences in traditions, that the dwarfs or pigmies were the constructors of cromlechs, kistvaens, and cairns on the Neilgherries, in Sorapoor, and Bellary? I think, too, there is the same superstition in parts of England. Mr. Higgins quotes Monsieur De Cambry's work, "*Monuments Celtiques*," in regard to Carnac, that the rocks were an army turned into

stone, or the work of the Croins, men or demons, two or three feet high, who carried the rocks in their hands and placed them there. In regard, too, to placed rocks, Mr. Higgins quotes Camden in reference to the stones of the temple at Rowldrich, that they were men turned into stones, "the king and his soldiers." These popular European traditions have their parallels in Sorapoor. About the rocks at Vibathulli, I was told that they were the men who, as they stood marking the places for the elephants of the King of the Dwarfs, were turned into stone, because they would not keep quiet. So also of the rocks at Shahpoo; those round the parallelogram were men, the largest being their chiefs; and the grey and black stones, granite and trap boulders which cover the tumulus, were grey and black cattle they had stolen; and, because they could not agree as to their division, the dwarf king turned them all to stone.

In connection with the subject of pre-historic monuments in India, the recent discoveries of flint knives and weapons with Celts, may be briefly alluded to, as it may not be generally known, that these pre-historic remains, identical with those of India, have been found in many localities.

The first discovery of them that I know of was made at Lingsoogoor, a new cantonment of the Hyderabad contingent, in 1842, by Dr. W. H. Primrose, the surgeon of the regiment then stationed there. In laying out his garden, he had found and filled a bag with beautiful cornelian, jasper, agate, and chalcedony knives and arrow-heads. He had served in the employment of a mining company in Mexico before he entered the army, and being familiar with the obsidian knives of that country, recognised what he found as precisely similar in construction. I chanced to visit Lingsoogoor, which is thirty miles south of Sorapoor, in 1842, and Dr. Primrose showed me his collection, which I, from having seen Mexican specimens in England, pronounced to be Mexican. He then showed me where he had found them, in the vicinity of a very large tumulus, on which the mess-house of the station had been built. No examination of it could, of course, be made, or it might have yielded rich archæological results. The collection made by Dr. Primrose was presented by him to the museum of the Asiatic Society in Bengal.

In the year 1866, Lieut. Swiney, who is since dead, discovered many "flint knives," arrow-heads, and chipped flints near Jubbulpoo, in Central India, some of which were sent to, I think, Sir Charles Lyell, who presented a portion to the Royal Irish Academy for deposit in their museum. These I examined with great interest, and found them to be identical

in character with Dr. Primrose's discoveries at Lingsoogoor. By a paper in the *Archæological Journal* of the central Provinces, it appears that other discoveries of chipped flints, knives, arrow-heads, and the like, have been made, and I believe continue to be made; and the article contains excellent photographs of some specimens. In the winter of 1867-68, I was at Mentone, in the south of France, and it was a curious and interesting circumstance that I received some specimens of central Indian flints from Mr. Rivett Carnac, president of the *Archæological Society of Nagpore*, at the time when I was disinterring specimens of exactly similar character from the debris of the bone caves of Mentone. It is too early yet to speculate upon those recent discoveries; but I conceive there is little doubt that the area of them will gradually expand, and that reports of what may have been discovered will become public. There is, at least, the absolute certainty that there is no perceptible difference between those of India and of Europe, and in both countries, the only minerals which can easily be broken into the peculiar forms required, whether flint in England, or chert, jasper, chalcedony, and the like in India, have been adopted.

On the 22nd April, 1867, I read a short paper in the *Royal Irish Academy* on the subject of the contents of a cairn exhumed by Sir George Yule, then resident at Hyderabad, one of a group near the town of Hyat Nugger, about ten miles E.S.E. of Hyderabad, on the Masulipatam road. The various articles which Sir George was so good as to send me, were presented by me to the Museum of the *Royal Irish Academy*. The most remarkable among them was the bronze cover, apparently, of a dish, surmounted by the figure of a deer or sheep. The diameter of this is eleven inches, and the centre rises three and a half inches from the rim. The thickness of the metal is one-tenth of an inch, equable throughout, and has been very carefully cast and polished. This, with the exception of a bell and a small drinking cup, are the only bronze articles which have been found in the Hyderabad cairns, and I found none in the cairns of Sorapoor.

In this cairn five specimens of the shell *Turbinella pyrum* were found; and a necklace composed of seven pieces of the central axes of the same shells, which appear to me identical with a necklace figured in Mr. Babington's paper on the Kodey Kulls of Malabar. There were also a few specimens of rough pottery, iron spear and arrow-heads much decayed, which call for no particular remark. It would be very desirable, I think, if further contents of cairns could be procured from Hyderabad or Sorapoor, and specimens of skulls, whenever they could be obtained perfect, or nearly so.

In conclusion, I beg to thank you, Mr. President, and this meeting at large, very sincerely for the patience and attention with which the details of this paper have been received. My object in stating them was to explain, as far as I could, what has already been discovered in India; and if I have been overtempted to draw inferences of identity between the pre-historic remains of India and of Europe, my desire only is, that they should be received *quantum valeat*, and with a view to future and more important discussions and discoveries.

I may seem, in what I have said, to have committed myself to an hypothesis, that the remains I have described were Scytho-Aryan. I might be led to this conclusion by the similitude between European Keltic, if the Kelts were Aryans, and therefore Aryan remains, and those of India; but I have found so many doubts and uncertainties in them, that for the present it is perhaps impossible to come to any definite conclusion whatever. We can follow the Indo-Aryans for possibly four thousand years by the Vedas, and yet in none of these works there any trace of rites of sepulture which would justify the identification of the cairns and cromlech constructions of India with them; and in the Institutes of Menu, and subsequent historical epics of the Mahabharat and Ramayan (the former replete with illustrations of the social customs of its period), we find ourselves equally at a loss. We are thus then, think, thrown back upon those dim ages of pre-historic movements upon the earth, which it is impossible to define, but which, from some existent monuments, appear to have had a common origin. As it may be impossible in India to attribute a cairn and cromlech constructions (so near to those of Europe), to the Aryans, is it admissible to fall back upon that great Turanian invasion of India, the evidences of which are said to exist in the Dravidian languages of the Peninsula? I can we imagine that such a Turanian movement extended to Europe, underlying, if we may say so, the Aryan movement which followed? In England it is now found as impossible to classify all cairn and barrow remains under one category, or as referring to one race or period (as perhaps used to be the case), as it will be in India when the same subject is more thoroughly investigated. It would favour an hypothesis of Turanian origin, if we consider, as I have already stated, that the boundary of so-called Dravidian, therefore Turanian speech in India, is that of the cairns and cromlechs as yet discovered, among those remarkable identities and similarities in the West in the East, of which, in this paper, I can only presume to give the imperfect rudiments.

APPENDIX I.

Extract from Description of the Pandoo Coolies in Malabar. By J. BABINGTON, Esq. [Read before the Literary Society of Bombay, 20th Dec., 1820. Published in Vol. iii of Society's *Transactions*.]

HAVING carefully removed the earth from and around the covering stone of the cave (No. 2), to prevent it falling into the latter, and breaking or damaging its contents, I caused the stone to be cut into four parts and turned over the edge of the cave. This was by no means an easy work, from the great size and weight of the stone, which was from six to eight feet in diameter, and two to three feet thick in the centre, becoming gradually thinner to the edge, where it was not more than six or eight inches thick. When the stone was removed away, the earth, which covered the mouth of the cave, was removed, all possible care being taken not to disarrange or break any of the contents. These consisted of a few iron instruments and chatties (urns) containing bones, and the light sand I have already mentioned, and rested on the edge of the projecting rock in the cave. In the centre of the cave, and parallel with the edge of the rock, was a circular piece of granite stone (5), similar in shape to the large covering stone (2), but so small as to be easily raised by two men. The earth being removed all around, the stone was gently raised and carried out of the cave, *when it was found to have covered* a large chatty or urn (4) of about five feet in height and four in diameter, composed of a thick clay mixed with sand, and not more than half baked, the cake being black and gritty. On lowering a lamp into the chatty, a smaller one was observed in it of the shape and appearance of that in the drawing (B), marked 19, and placed in the same position as therein shown, with several still smaller around it, as 10, 12, 17, 18, and 21 of the sketch. These several chatties are half filled with, and nearly surrounded by, the bright shining sand. It was before mentioned, mixed with bones, which were carefully removed by the hand, and in the chatty No. 19 was found a smaller one 20, apparently better made, being rock throughout and glazed highly, which contained the whitish transparent beads, No. 4, together with a small greenish stone also transparent, but which could not be preserved, as it fell into small pieces after it was exposed to the air. On carefully washing and sifting the earth which had fallen with the cave, the transparent sand and other beads, as shown by Nos. 6, 7, 14, 15, and 16, were taken out of the large chatty. The latter was then broken and removed from the cave, which was found to terminate on the spot where it had rested. A few iron instruments, as shown in C 4, 12, 16, were found to rest on the ledge of the rock in the cave, and the smaller articles of the same kind (Nos. 20 and 21) were

found with the beads, bones, etc., inside the large urn or chatty. That open space was then cleared out, and it was found to be a *descent communicating with the cave by a square door at the side, which was carefully closed by a stone, also square, pressing upon it.* Nothing was found in this outer cave but some broken pieces of chatty, the original shape of which could not be ascertained. . . .

These caves are in the shape of a blunt cone, and exclusive of the opening at the top, which was always circular and about three feet in diameter, there was in every cave a square door in the middle, closed by a stone in the same manner as described in the cave No. 1, and another opening on the surface of the ground leading down by steps to the side opening of the cave, so that a communication could be held with the interior of the cave without removing the top stone, as in the cave of the Kodey.

APPENDIX II.

Extract from a Letter from Captain, now Colonel, A. DORIA, dated Camp Katangrich, 12th April, 1852.

I RECEIVED a few days ago your letter relative to the caves, about which I shall be glad to give you any and every information in my power. I opened ten or twelve of them at Narkailpakie and other places, but they were so tremendous in size and depth, that it is a work of some considerable labour.

They present themselves in this part of the country in large masses, or never have been in any regular figure, but generally along and around the base of some strong slope or hill, though they do occur on the open plains and banks of the river Musy. Whether the former positions have been assumed from the facility of procuring the stones which fill up the upper part of the mound which caps them, and by the large circles of stones which encircle them, I know not, but they are always in a stony vicinity. They are innumerable about here, amounting to thousands. You can hardly move two or three miles in any direction without meeting some of them. From the Musy river, on both banks in a south-easterly direction by Anapitee hill and Narkailpitte, where they surround the hill (800 feet high on the north side) and extend a little to the east. There are none on the west, and only a few on the south, but some hundreds on the north, some very large. At Haitipamla and down to Dewarcondor they abound. The high road runs through a regular field of them at Haitipamla, but with the exception of the stony vicinity, I do not see any peculiarity in their construction or position in regard to one another.

In size there is a difference, some being composed of blocks of stone, very difficult, nay, impossible, to remove them with-

out mechanical assistance, both as to the size of the stones which compose the outer rings of the tumuli, and also the large slabs which form the inner cell or tomb wherein the body or bones are placed. The diameter of some of the large tumuli is from thirty to forty feet; others again are much smaller, and on these a much less amount of labour has been bestowed. The depth of some of the large ones is very considerable. You first dig through a mound of from three to five feet deep, outcropping and bounded by these immense circle stones, which brings you to the level of the ground about. When you dig down again some eight or ten feet you reach the regular tomb, which is composed of eight immense slabs of gneiss or granite, forming an enclosure of eight or nine feet long, and four or five broad, giving a total depth from the top of the mound to the bottom of from sixteen to twenty feet. In digging through the mass of earth I have invariably found earthen jars of various shapes, some with covers and some open like saucers, and others like the earthen chatties now used by natives, except that some are beautifully glazed, placed at the south corners or feet of the tombs, and about half way between the slab and the top of the ground. These jars sometimes contain calcined bones; but others are merely full of earth as if they had been placed there empty, or filled with something that has decayed. I conjecture rice or grain, and giving place to native earth.

In the cell itself, which is always filled with white ants' nests, I have always found more jars (urns) similar to the first, and filled like them with burned bones and earth. I have generally found the skeleton entire under white ant earth, but the bones so decomposed that they have fallen to pieces almost on the slightest touch. The cells are always due north and south, and the skeleton placed in the same position. At the head or north end I have generally found a piece of iron, which might have been a knife or a sword, but almost rusted away, and also arrow heads of the double part shape. In one I found a mass of iron, which must when new have weighed several pounds. I also found round the neck of a skeleton a charm or ornament formed of enamel and bored through, for suspension I presume. In some of the cells an upright stone slab, some two feet high, divides the cell into two parts, always longitudinally—that is, north and south. In one cell I found a bell of copper much corroded, about an eighth of an inch thick and six inches in diameter, which I shall send you with some of the pottery, and shall be glad to open more cairns for you if you like.

The bell, and another of cast bronze or bell metal, with the pottery found by Captain Davis, and Dr. Lankester's bell, were forwarded by me to the Asiatic Society's Museum, Bombay.

MEADOWS TAYLOR.

Statement showing the Particulars of Human Beings of Diminutive Stature in the Behary District.
Communicated by C. PELLY, Esq., M.R.C.S., Collector.

No.	Names of Talooks.	Names of Villages.	Distance and Direction from Behary.		Number of Dwellings.	PARTICULARS OF DWELLINGS.							
			Direction.	Distance in Miles.		Having a slab of stone on each of three sides, as roof, leaving one side open.	Having a slab of stone on each of four sides, as an aperture in the centre, and one at top as roof, one each of four sides, as wall, without any at top.	Having a slab of stone on each of four sides, as wall, and one at top as roof.	Compounds or enclosures built of stones, enclosing dwellings of this description.	Having a slab of stone on each of four sides, as wall, without any at top.	Having a slab of stone on each of three sides, as wall, without any at top, fourth side or top.	Having a slab of stone on each of four sides, as wall, without any at top, one of the sides having an aperture.	
1a	Koodilghee	Halsagarum	S.	45	200	..	..	..	..	200	..	..	..
2b	Hoovindpudgully	Rajahvalum	S.	56	33	..	..	..	31	..	132	284	284
3c	Raidroog	Mullapoorum	S.	30	485	3	..	..	18	48	243	214	214
4d	"	Adda Goopah	S.	30	526	..	..	..	17	51	81	28	28
5e	"	Gokahully	S.	30	200	..	..	..	6	85	..	1	1
6f	Kodecondah	Kondapoorum	S.E.	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
7g	"	Poolair	S.E.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8h	Dhurma Veram	Moodpegalloor	S.E.	..	580	580	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	"	Dhavadhoolaconda	S.E.	..	104	104	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
					2120	104	583		73	384	458	527	527

Extracts from Reports of Talookdars on the Subject.

a. Tradition says that former governments caused dwellings of the description alluded to, to be erected for a species of human beings called "Mohories", whose dwarfish stature is said not to have exceeded a span when standing, and a fat high when in a sitting posture, who were endowed with strength sufficient to roll off large stones with a touch of their thumb. The dwellings in question contain nothing.

b. It is said that those dwellings belonged to a sect of human beings called Mohories. It is not known when or by whom they were erected for the Mohories, nor is any description given.

c. It is said that human beings of a diminutive size called Mohories occupied these dwellings.

d. It is said that these dwellings belonged to Gujaris, by whom they were anciently inhabited.

e. It is said that these dwellings belonged to Gujaris, and that they were anciently occupied by that class of creatures.

f. It is said to be a Pagoda of the Pandwabs. On being dug up, a smooth long stone was found therein.

g. It is said to be a Pagoda of the Pandwabs. On being dug up, some iron nails and plates were found therein.

h. It is said that human beings, dwarfs called Gujaris, resided in these dwellings; that they were erected with no other material but flags of stone, from four showers of fire, and that the beings were under a yard in stature. One or two of these dwellings were dug up, but nothing was found. The dwellings situated near Dhavadhoolaconda, are without the flags that are placed on the tops or roofs; they were carried away by the merchants of the village for their houses. It appears that a being of the description visited Callandroog a short time ago.

N.B.—No Measurements of any of these Remains have been forwarded.

True Copy of Report, MEADOWS TAYLOR.

XVI.—On Some of the Mountain Tribes of the N.W. Frontier of India.
By MAJOR FOSBERRY, V.C.

A CONSCIOUSNESS of my own inability to deal as I should wish with my subject would have caused me to hesitate before consenting to read this paper had it not been for the certainty that a personal knowledge of one's subject, however slight, has always a value not possessed by any mere recapitulation of the testimony of others; just as the roughest measurement is always in scientific experiment more valuable than the most careful guess; and further, because I have received in advance, a promise that the nature of my acquaintance with these people will be considered in the judgment passed on those shortcomings which you are about to perceive for yourselves.

I have, as you will see from the title of this paper, limited myself to a few of the frontier tribes, and I have done so because from those of whom I am about to speak were mainly drawn the troops with whom we have been latterly in contact—because they possess a character not wholly shared by the more mixed races further to the south and west, and because on these in the future will be concentrated a far higher degree of political and military interest.

My geographical limits then will commence eastward at the Indus, and extend as far west and south as the Afreedres and cognate tribes, north of the great Soliman range.

From several able and interesting works it is easy to form a fair estimate of the Belooches and mixed races of the Scind frontier; their good fortune not only early taught them the inexpediency of braving a power represented to them by such men as Herbert Edwards and John Jacob, but has also placed them to one side of those strategic positions which have hitherto proved the keys of the Indian Empire. For as in Alexander's time, so now, the occupation of the line of the Oxus is a menace to the line of the Indus; and to the countries intervening and the tribes who inhabit them must be strongly attracted the interest of those whom such menaces affect.

Furthermore, it is impossible to forget that these peoples, together with the now distracted Afghan kingdom, are the representatives of that power which once ruled Asia from the Caspian to the Jumna, and from the Oxus to the shores of the Indian Sea. That here, concentrated in little space, and torn by internal feuds, and daily falling more and more under the shadow of overpowering forces which must soon overwhelm them, lies a nation which has always formed a remarkable problem whether to European or Asiatic minds. Laying claim to

Jewish descent, calling themselves to this hour the children of Joseph or David, their countenances and customs in many instances seem to support pretensions, which otherwise evidently involve many inaccuracies, and are probably wholly unsusceptible of logical proof.

Figure to yourselves a Jew who looked neither stunted nor cursed, a descendant not of persecuted dwellers in cities, but of a race free and masterful in thought and action, for centuries the lords of the mountain by inheritance and the plain by conquest, active, well knit, and handsome, proud in thought and carriage, skilled and dauntless in the use of arms, hospitable to his guest, true to his friend, but an enemy as unscrupulous as bitter—as it was said of old, *impiger iracundus inexorabilis arce*—unhappily quick in quarrel, but stern and swift to avenge it; and you have the Affghan or Patuantype of our north-west frontier.

His characteristic virtues are rather those of the west than the east; his whole temperament is distinct from that of the nations who surround him, whilst his vices are those common on the one hand to the mountaineers of all countries, on the other are due to his religion and the peculiar traditional customs which he has derived from some former lawless condition. His higher qualities must often excite our admiration or exact our respect. His weaknesses are but few, and his vices rather move us to anger or pity than afford us the satisfaction of contempt. Whilst however the general characteristics of all the Patuan tribes remain in great measure the same, and their common origin is undoubted, the physical aspect of the countries they hold, the climatic variations due to a greater or less elevation, the influences of a poorer or richer soil, their isolation in remote valleys, or the free intercourse with others, enjoyed by the dwellers in the plain, have given them local peculiarities often very distinctly marked whether they be those of appearance, of dialect, or of customs.

Thus, for instance, the western Afghans are fairer in complexion as a rule than the inhabitants of Swât or Bonau, whilst the latter are ignorant and bigoted in exact proportion to the height of the mountains and the difficulty of the passes which separate them from their more cultivated neighbours; and in many of the smaller vallies a barbarous *patois* takes the place of the national pashtoo.

Still the parent stock of all is the Afghan, and we shall clearly best learn their probable origin from a consideration of the Affghan accounts of themselves, checked by what we are able to gather concerning them from other and independent sources.

It must be premised that nationally these men are great

genealogists, with a passion for careful records of lineage, which are frequently recited even in ordinary conversation. That the records of all the tribes point to a common ancestor, and that that ancestor is again said to have been of Jewish origin and a direct descendant of king Saul.

There exists however no other record of Afghana, son of Yareemiah, son of Saul. And it is fully possible that this individual was invented for the purpose of accounting satisfactorily for the name given them by the Persians, and that their descent from king Saul was also devised on their conversion to Mahommedanism in order to connect them with one of whom the Koran speaks so highly. It is in this way also that some of the adventures attributed to Kees, their undoubted ancestor, originated, for whilst they represent him to have been an honoured companion of the Prophet himself, and to have received from him many favours with the name of Abdoolraschid and the title of Patuan or Mast, signifying his importance to the vessel of the faith, we cannot but perceive that Patuan is but a corruption of Pukhtoon, their national name. Whilst the Arabian authors also omit all mention of Kees, and aver that the prophet declared Pashtoo to be the language of hell, these and other inconsistencies in their accounts led Mr. Elphinstone and Professor Dorn to doubt the whole story of their Jewish origin. Sir William Jones on the other hand was disposed to accept it, and gave several reasons for doing so. In later times philologists have attempted to prove or disprove it by an analysis of their language. This last would seem to any one, who recollects the ease with which the Flemish of Belgium or the German of the Rhine frontier has passed into very tolerable French, an argument as to original race which must be very cautiously used.

On such questions I am but ill able to offer an opinion, though it would almost appear that the man himself and his mind as expressed in his customs and actions should be accepted as proving more than can be negatived by mere want of consistency in his traditions, or of certain roots in his language. One thing is at least certain, that to a *physique* eminently Jewish in appearance they unite many of the intellectual and mental peculiarities of that people, and have an unwritten law which constantly reminds us of Jewish customs; and though this may also have been derived in part through the Koran, there still remain those features which can neither be denied nor explained away.

I should exceed the limits of a paper like the present were I to attempt to give more than a very general sketch of his leading peculiarities; whilst, as I have said before, I shall better

s object by affording to others some data on which to form an opinion, than by attempting to construct or maintain a theory of my own, or taking either side in former contro-

we have already given you some idea of the appearance of the men, whose looks have in every case formed the foundation of those theories regarding them which further inquiry has led some to reject and others to accept, according to the merit in which the investigation was undertaken, and the proof admitted or refused. Perhaps, indeed, the very best proof obtainable lay in his very starting point, which, as inquiry proceeded, became less and less admitted to its value in the final result, however this may be.

The cradle of the Patuan or Afghan race, as at present considered, appears to have been placed considerably to the west of Cabul, at Gune, a city whose ruins are stated to exist at a great distance from Herat. They say that their ancestors were reduced to these hills after the Babylonish captivity. It is true, however, since all alike trace back to a common point of genealogy, and that point a single family at a period antecedent to that event, that these people, even should their origin be proved beyond dispute, cannot be the present representatives of what are called "the lost tribes" as some have supposed. Lieutenant Wood, near Jerm in Badakshan, met with a Jew who had arrived in the neighbourhood on a pilgrimage in search of these tribes, and was eventually turned away by the Chinese mandarin commanding at Kashgar.

There is also in these regions an unexplored corner. A country all but inaccessible to enemies or friends, strong in its physical character, and in the bravery of those who hold it, the angle of the Hindoo Koosh, the country of the Leah Kafir—the black-robed unbelievers in Islam, as their name implies.

And these people hang such a veil of mystery, and they are so present so difficult of access, that I have thought it well to include in my survey of the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions such an account of them also as I have been able to glean from various sources.

A reference to the map will show the whole region of which I am about to speak to be broken up into numerous valleys by the main ranges of greater or less elevation. These ranges consist of them more or less spurs or offsets from the great range of the Hindoo Koosh or Indian Caucasus. Some are of considerable elevation, and render communication between the plains which they enclose a matter of much difficulty. The watershed is towards the Indus, which receives the Bu-

numdoo and Cabul rivers and other less considerable streams. The passes which give access to the various valleys have a general direction at right angles to the great chain, and it follows from this that their conquest by the Patuan has been made by a succession of attacks, dealing with each section separately, rather than by a progress from west to east parallel to the mountains. It is this circumstance which has given a local character to the tribes, which renders any great combination of them difficult, protects them also from feeling very widely the effects of an attack from the direction of the Indus or Peshawur valley.

Previously to our arrival in this valley, it was always customary, in order to check the raids of the mountaineers on the plain, to establish a military frontier cordon, and to revenge such raids on the perpetrators by attacks directed on their fastnesses in the hills themselves. These stand to the present hour in the *Dua jât* mounds eleven hundred years old, originally erected for the defence of the small garrisons necessary to the peace of the border. We ourselves have, since our occupation of the Punjab, found it necessary to make more than twenty expeditions into these hills.

There have conquered or fallen, too often unrewarded or unknown, many able soldiers in bitterly-disputed fields, whose position is unmarked in the mass, and whose name even reaches but a few of us through the medium of some obscure blue-book. But to this hour the mountaineers are untamed by our strength and unreconciled by any attitude we have assumed towards them.

On the other side of these mountains advances hour by hour, with a march unscrupulous, undeviating, of a mechanical regularity, that great Power of the North, whose shadow already moves over Asia far in advance of its camps and outposts, and by the power of an unexpressed but fully-recognised antagonism, diminishes at each step in advance that prestige by which, far more than by the sword itself, we have always ruled the Oriental. To the feelings which dictate such speeches as this, it has been the custom to apply opprobriously the name *Russophobia*.

If, however, it be lawful to fear anything, I confess freely to a dread of any influence, from whatever distance propagated and by whatever means maintained, which, in a country like Asia, tends to divest the mind of the ruled of that confidence in the might of his ruler, which has been established by the talents, the sufferings, and the blood of such a noble army of our countrymen. These mountains are our natural frontier and defence; these tribes those who ought to be, not merely

neutral spectators of what is to follow, but heart and soul our allies offensive and defensive. At this moment it is but the dread of some fresh embroglio that keeps their hands from our property and their swords from our throats.

Abbott in Huzara, and Edwardes in Bumoo, proved that kindness and conciliation, united to a manly bearing and even-handed justice, gained in incredibly short times their confidence and respect. They are not by any means different in heart from other men: bigotry will always yield to knowledge—savage customs to civilisation—enmity to persistent kindness, here as elsewhere, with as much certainty as the night flies before the rising sun; but to a people whose oldest custom prescribes the exaction of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and beyond all, blood for blood to the third and fourth generation, the killing of their relations in the fairest fight has an effect the reverse of desirable.

The experiences of the Umbeyla campaign, the last but one of these expeditions, showed us much of the character of these men as exhibited in war, and the interior economy of the tribes also, and their attachment to their religion was illustrated in a remarkable way.

There, mustered under their huge and many-coloured silk standards, and headed by hereditary chieftains, stood often in order of battle, masses of wild swordsmen, who wanted but arms, discipline, and cohesion amongst themselves to render them the equals of any troops in the world. Who could refuse his admiration to the dash, the *élan*, which carried these poorly-armed mountaineers up the face of hills one thousand feet in height to face, at the top of it, the arms, the discipline, and the *physique* of English soldiers? The devotion which made them face a storm of canister at close quarters, throw themselves in the teeth of it into the embrasures of our heavy battery, that prompted their continual attacks on our advanced posts, in which scores were cut down by the fire of our infantry and mountain guns, others cheerfully taking their places, to be rewarded, at least, perhaps, by some transient success, immediately afterwards snatched from them, at the end of some of these attacks, the work would be found strewed with small beans blessed by the Ackhroud, their priestly head, who assured them that, were they once thrown inside our defences, our hearts would become as water and our swords and bullets equally inoffensive. The shrewd ascetic had well reckoned that, once within throwing distance, the Pathan would not easily be denied, and the result, in more than one instance, fully justified his calculation. Again, the pouches found on the bodies of the slain were often filled with small

angular crystals, chipped down to fit the bore of the matchlock. Their swords were often heavy curved blades of iron, but the temper of the man compensated for its want in the weapon, and his skill with the sword was incomparable. Bows and arrows were not unknown amongst them, but rare, as were also slings. In the use of the stone, however, they were singularly expert, and in their hands it became a powerful weapon of offence. Gathering up the skirt of their long blue robes in the left hand, which also gripped the hilt of the sword, the Pathans would fill the pouch thus formed with heavy stones, then shouting their war-cry, they would advance, hurling the stones into the work in such numbers that scarcely a single defender escaped some severe contusion. At the last moment the sword was transferred from the left hand to the right, and, springing over the light breastworks, they were fighting hand to hand and for life or death in an instant. They use the stone in punishments as well as war. More than this, they use it in a strange way in solemn contracts, in which the oath required is sworn over a stone set up as a silent witness of the compact. With such weapons as these such men fairly faced us, and sometimes not by any means to our advantage. The patriarchal character of their government was seen in the manner in which, on the fall of a chief, his entire clan left the camp.

On the other hand, we have fortunately no experience of our own by which to estimate the fidelity of our Pathan soldiery, who, seeing fathers, brothers, neighbours, and friends fighting in the enemy's ranks, without a single exception manfully stood by us, and by their noble truth to duty, read such a lesson to those who, far and near, had counted on their defection, as will not easily be forgotten in India. Such traits of character create in us an admiration and interest which lead us to desire the friendship of their possessors, and a more intimate knowledge of the country which has produced these men, and the habits of life which have moulded them in a measure to what they are.

In all we find a certain pride of birth exaggerated amongst some tribes, such as the Mornunds for instance, into overbearing haughtiness, tempered in others by the natural joyousness of their character, we see an independence of bearing, derived partly from the character of their country, partly from their skill in arms and the traditions of former greatness. An extreme hospitality, which leads them often into unwarrantable extravagance and the utter neglect of domestic economy, provides a public place of entertainment for guests; it frequently embroils them with their neighbours for shelter afforded to some fugitive pursued by the avenger of blood, or his enemy in some private quarrel.

Among all the Afghans the custom is that the man purchase his wife, and the practice causes them to regard their women with the additional respect due to valuable property. Amongst the Eusofzaie tribes the price is frequently paid in kind, the son-in-law working out the value of his intended, whom he is frequently not permitted to see, as the servant of his father-in-law. Amongst some of them the custom of Namuth Bazee, however, prevails, and modifies the relations of the betrothed couple. If the widow of an Afghan be without children, it is considered to be the duty of his brother to marry her, and it would be thought a grave insult to him if another first offered to do so ; if now there be children, re-marriage is at the option of the woman.

They have several peculiarities which we search for in vain amongst other Orientals. To their greater gravity of demeanour they sometimes unite a degree of positive bashfulness, of which the Hindoo is wholly guileless ; a certain stateliness, so to speak, and solidity of intellect and expression contrast remarkably with their subtle genius and emphatic and voluble declamation. They understand the passion of love in a manner analogous to our own, and their poets have expressed in touching and beautiful language depths of passionate feeling and subtle alternations of emotion, such as we should expect to find in few even amongst European literatures ; therefore wholly at variance with the sensual or sentimental lyrics of their neighbours.

Some of these poems are written and are in high estimation amongst them ; others treating of love or war are handed down from one to the other, and being sung by their village hearth or camp watch-fire, light up their handsome features with a depth of feeling or excite to a degree of enthusiasm of which the others would be incapable.

They are a joyous people, too, these Patuans. Their social gatherings are things apart ; we find no other Asiatics congregating as they do at some shrine or meeting-place, neither to trade nor quarrel, but simply to amuse themselves and be happy. All alike regard any but military or agricultural pursuits as beneath them, though an Afghan noble will not hesitate to sell the horse or the land which he no longer requires. They are much addicted to field sports, such as coursing and hawking, and at the gatherings above mentioned racing, tilting, and shooting at a mark combine with their wild music to afford them amusement. A species of bagpipe, the pipe, and tabor are their common musical instruments, and it is strange to hear in these far-off hills notes which seem to belong rather to the highlands of Scotland or the wilds of Calabria.

Their cultivation of the plain country is laborious certainly from the necessity of irrigation, but well conducted and pro-

ductive. On the hills, terrace after terrace supporting soil brought from below, and narrow slips of vegetation, testify to a strong degree of perseverance which is but scantily rewarded.

Thus some of those hill tribes that border on the plains and hold none of the lower lands are driven to plunder for a subsistence; others live by the tolls collected on the caravans of merchandise which use the passes that traverse their country; and to others again is regularly paid a species of black mail to purchase the security of the traveller. Whilst the robber of the Mahabun and Indus frontier comes down from his hills with a bullock skin under his arm which he inflates, and crossing the river plunders the village on the other side, the Afnedee lies in wait by the highway, the Khyberrie infests the pass, and the Zaka Khail digs through the wall by night and plunders the stable or the dwelling. The latter—who, for the credit of the nation, are but a small community and in evil odour—pass the new-born infant through a hole dug in the wall of the dwelling, saying over him three times, *Ghal Shak*, or be a thief. It is they who, being at one time in difficulties, owing to their having no shrine of their own, and being unwelcome to those of others, lay in wait for a holy man proceeding to Cabul, murdered him in the Khyber, buried him in their lands, and to this hour pay their devotions with much satisfaction at the ziarut or place of pilgrimage thus improvised and thus consecrated.

I have already spoken of the Pukhtoon rules, or Afghan traditional custom and code of honour. To this the Afreedres are of all the wilder tribes the most devoted. By it are laid down forms of punishment for various crimes; and as it evidently dates from some period in their history when a man's own right hand was the strongest protector he could expect for his life or prosperity, it recognises, nay, enforces, right of private vengeance and the penalty of blood for blood, to be enforced by the nearest relation of him slain. Stoning to death was provided for other offences. And generally very different consequences followed wrong-doing to that meted out amongst some other Afghans, with whom the murderer was fined twelve ladies of the family; whilst he who only broke his enemy's front tooth had to pay six; and with whom a different number was allotted according to the position of a wound inflicted or the time which it took in healing.

An instance came under my own observation, in which there being a blood feud between two Afreedres in one of our frontier regiments, a sergeant and a private; the sergeant obtained ten days' leave, went to their common village, laid up near the spring which supplied it with water, and shot the brother of

when he came to drink; he then returned to 3, and seeing the private on parade recommended ave also and go home, as his family affairs were in e private asked and was told the cause, and learn-ained to the officer in command. The sergeant p and reprimanded, but this did not content the vent away after registering a vow of vengeance, ubtless long ere this led to further mischief.

in that the inhabitants of these regions once were it that this religion was ever professed by the mselves is at least doubtful. Caves and sculptures nd in the Eusofzaie testify to this fact. Sculptures f the Buddhist religion are constantly dug up; and were found during our stay some alto-reliefs in ich the figures were carved with rare delicacy and lmost as perfect as when chiselled two thousand nd of which the draperies as well as the features rather Grecian than like anything we have been to attribute to Indian art.

edict in favour of Buddhism in the Eusofzaie, we thor, an Indian king, speaking of the successors of s his own contemporaries; and further research on many mounds of ruins spread over this country bly richly reward the seeker.

se date of the Afghan conversion to Mahommedan-own, but is said by some to have been as late as ntury. The extension of their power, and above nge of religion drove out from the country of the ge that singular people the Leah Posh Kafirs, to e already alluded.

these Kafirs are supposed to be descendants of the eeks. Centuries ago they resisted the hordes of g, and baffled Akbar; surrounded on all sides by fanatic enemies of their faith, their own courage, assisted by the natural fortress which they inhabit, l them to maintain their independence, nay more, e occasionally from their neighbours.

ave liked to refer to other matters; I find, however, ill not permit of my doing so, more than to point wing facts, which may be of service to those who quire further into the history of the Afghans.

try abounds in honey, and for wine it is notorious s part of Asia. The Kafirs have a practice which en in the habit of attributing to ancient civilisation, lown their wine.

arrow and difficult in the extreme, leading across

frightful chasms, crossed by rope bridges along the edges of tremendous precipices, or through ravines so narrow as to be dark at mid-day. The Kafirs cross by leaping-poles the smaller ravines, and are exceedingly fearless and active.

The country produces wheat, barley, millet, and but a small quantity of rice; deodar and other fir timber, oak, hazel, alder, wild olive, mulberry, walnut, and others; with pears, apples, apricots, plums, peaches, nectarines, figs, quinces, pomegranates, and mulberries.

The rivers of all this region produce gold-dust, and here is to this hour seen practised the mode of obtaining it, which gave origin to the fable of the golden fleece. Skins, with the wool on, being sunk in the beds of the streams, and the wool entangling the particles of gold.

The Kafirs detest fish, though their rivers abound in them.

Their ploughing is rude: a woman often drawing the wooden rake over the land, guiding by a goat's-hair rope, the man following the plough and scattering the seed from a bag about his waist. The corn, when reaped and taken home, is trodden out by oxen.

The Kafirs were supposed formerly to have been divided into eighteen tribes; of these, eight have fallen into Mahomedanism, and are mixed with their other neighbours; ten tribes, who retain their ancient religion and customs, remaining, and forming what is now the Kafir nation.

Those who have thus fallen away are called Nimchas, from a Persian word meaning half or the middle; and a diminutive also expressive of contempt.

When the deputation from the Siah Posh came down in 1839, an Afghan Peon rushed into Edward Conolly's tent, crying, "Here they are; they are all come. Here are all your relations." The Kafirs, too, claimed this relationship, but found themselves coldly received, and went away unconciliated.

Both Wood and Raverty mention that these Kafirs never sit cross-legged like other Orientals, but on stools or something raised from the ground.

Food, unleavened bread, milk curds, butter, honey, herbs, vegetables, and fruit. They sometimes eat beef, but generally flesh of sheep and goats, with game captured in the chase.

Instead of slaughtering cattle, "strange," says Raverty, "and superstitious, the animal is brought out and seized by the head by one man, whilst the other strikes it on the neck with a sword or long knife. If decapitated at one blow, it is considered pure and fit for food; if not, it is given to the Baris, a tribe whom they hold as slaves, considering them in the light of Helots, and who are supposed to be the aborigines of the

country." These latter carry on the mechanical trades of the country. A Kafir considers arms and agriculture alone comporting with his dignity. They have a strange annual feast, of from twenty to forty-one days, observed with great solemnity. In its concluding ceremonies it closely resembled that festival in honour of Venus or Mylitter celebrated by the ancient Babylonians, against which the Israelites were warned by the Prophet Jeremiah, a more particular account of which will be found in the pages of Rollin, and their marriage ceremonies are peculiar. Their worship admits of but few forms and ceremonies, the principal, consisting in sacrifices of cows and goats to their three gods, is conducted by an hereditary priesthood.

They appear to have been spread over the plain country of Afghanistan, between the Tuleanian range and the Caubul river, and to have been driven north by the growth of the Afghan nation and by the spread of Islamism, which they refused to embrace.

The Kafirs have European features, a highly intellectual cast of countenance, hair varied from lightest brown to black, eyes blue to dark; women uncommonly handsome, go about unveiled. A European penetrating to their country would meet with a good reception, could he but once get there. They even offer their daughters in marriage to induce a European to stay with them; in case of his accepting, he would probably find it difficult to get away again.

Hospitable to a fault, they treat their guest more kindly than a brother, merry and sociable in disposition, sincere in friendship as in enmity, faithful to agreement, they hold boasting, lying, and duplicity in sovereign contempt.

Fortunate, indeed, will be the man who first has the opportunity of exploring these regions.

Capt. Raverty says the safest and best route for a European would be the way by Gilgitt to Upper Kashgar or Chitral, where, if one can get a Kafir to become one's security, one might pass from one end of the country to the other, without the slightest danger.

In reaching Rajintan from the South, the only danger would be that from the Eusufzaie Afghans at Panjkorah, though Hazum Khan might be negotiated with *sans doute*.

Wood's Journey to the Oxus; Elphinstone's Caubul; Abbott on his Journey to Khiva, taking a route which misses these parts of the country; Capt. Raverty's Notes on Kafirstan, are works containing reliable information for those who desire to become acquainted with the country and people treated of.

XVII.—On Permanence of Type in the Human Race. By Sir WILLIAM DENISON.

I CANNOT pretend to an amount of information such as that displayed by Sir W. Elliot and Mr. Campbell, when we met here on the 9th. To these gentlemen we owe much; they have contributed largely towards the mass of data necessary to enable us to speculate, or to use a term of more dignity, to "philosophise", as to the origin and former life of the different tribes which fill up the great space extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the mouth of the Indus to those of the Ganges, amounting altogether to about a hundred and fifty millions, more or less. My province will be a much humbler one. I shall be satisfied if I can contribute a few facts, some of a general character, some more especially connected with India, which may serve as stepping-stones to help others across some doubtful slough, which will be met with in dealing with a portion of the past, of which we have no reliable history, and as to which we must necessarily trust to hypothesis. I say hypothesis, because I draw a marked distinction between theory and hypothesis. Theory is an induction from well-established facts, a sort of generalisation which, when it embraces the whole of such facts in its grasp, can only arrive at *probability*. Hypothesis is simply a guess, which can at best be said to be a probability, and which is not unfrequently an impossibility.

I will now proceed to state a few facts bearing upon the general relations of races of men to each other, and seeming to testify to the permanence of the type in different races of mankind. This was first forced upon my notice some forty years ago in Canada. I found there the Frenchman and the Englishman dropped alongside of each other in the American forest, under circumstances almost identical; did these circumstances induce a similarity of action in the individuals of the two races? Not in the least. The Frenchman, a social being, lived and lives just as he does now in his native land; builds his house or hut in a village, among his friends and neighbours. The Englishman, on the contrary, attaching, I suppose, importance to the possession of land, builds his house upon his own allotment, keeping as far as possible from neighbours, and is an isolated being.

America furnishes us with many more instances of this permanence of type when the races keep isolated. The Irishman, in a society composed of his native countrymen, remains an Irishman; the German, a German. In England, too, we can see many instances which prove the permanency of type. The

Welshman, in the centre of Wales, is a Welshman still; the Scotchman remains a Scotchman; the Irishman does not change his nature or his habits. We may go even into more minute differences, and may detect minute differences between the inhabitants of the different counties in England and Scotland, which are due to their Saxon or Danish ancestors, as shown by **Mr. Worsaae** in his work on "**The Danes and Northmen.**"

If we go abroad the same permanency of type is found: the Frenchman varies in different parts of his country; he is a Celt in Brittany, a Norman on the other side of the boundary of the provinces. The Spaniard is different from the Frenchman; the Spaniard of the north differs from him of the south, and so on. We will not attempt to multiply instances, but merely refer to two, which come constantly under our notice: the Jew is as genuine a son of Israel now as he was when he came into the Promised Land; the gipsy, whatever his origin may be, has not changed in feature or in habit within the period we have known him.

We will then pass over to India without pausing by the way, though I might find many instances, if we went by the overland route, among the descendants of Ham and of Ishmael to bear me out in my assertion as to the permanency of type. In India we find marked varieties traceable, often more by difference of feature, colour, and habits, than by language. Take, for instance, the small patch of about four hundred square miles on the top of the Neilgherries. There are no fewer than five distinct varieties of type in that small area. There is the Toda, whose claim to the ownership of the land has been to a certain extent recognised by the Government, we find in him a face of a marked Jewish character; but it is not merely in feature that he differs from the Hindoo of the plains, he is physically a larger and more powerful man. There is nothing servile about him; he stands up like a man instead of prostrating himself; then his manner of life is altogether different from that of the Hindoo. He is not a cultivator of the soil, he is a herdsman; his wealth, if such it can be termed, consists in the herds of buffaloes which pasture about his huts. His religion, if such it can be termed, consists in sacrifice. It may be interesting if I read a short extract from a letter I received a few weeks ago, giving an account of a sacrifice at the funeral of a chief:—

Extract.

"Mr. Metz, a German missionary, was telling us about the funeral festival, (his English is rather broken, which makes his talk all the more amusing,) how, at a certain stage in the proceedings, all the women suddenly burst into floods of tears, and how, when he first saw the scene, 'I was so moved that I could hardly hold my eye. After I

see many times ; first dey cry, then another minute dey laugh ; so now I am no more moved.' The sight was curious. Twenty-two buffaloes were penned up in one of those round kraals, and a number of Todas were dancing in the middle to begin with, the buffaloes charging them every now and then, but were easily beaten off by their clubs. Then, at a time fixed by the priest, the ceremony began by the ashes of their dead friend being brought in two bags to the door of the kraal ; the officiating Todas put their hands to them, then threw three or four handfuls of earth on the bags, and as many into the enclosure among the buffaloes. Then each buffalo was seized by several Todas, hanging on to its neck and horns, and this must have been the exciting part of the scene, for, of course, the beasts tore round the kraal, the Todas hanging on and keeping themselves from the side as best they might, and at last getting them out of the enclosure to the slaughtering-place. These, which were to be killed for the chief who has died, were to be dragged upwards of one hundred yards ; the rest were all killed in the same place by a blow of an axe. The women all went and sat down by the dead beasts, crying violently, and sending messages to their dead friends by the buffaloes. The sketches sent in this letter will give a fair idea of the scene."

Next to the Toda comes the Kolù ; he is, if it may be so called, the gipsy of the hills. He is the blacksmith, the musician ; he is scouted as unclean by the Toda, but at the same time made use of when occasion requires.

Then there are the Corumbas, to whom, if I recollect aright, Sir Walter Elliot alluded in his paper, and there are two other tribes, or fragments of tribes, who live on the slopes of the hills, and are seldom seen. If, then, in this trifling patch of country we find such varieties of type, what may we expect to discover were we in a position to depict the varieties of race living among the hills and jungles, which defend them from the intrusion of their neighbours. I am quite willing to adopt Mr. Campbell's general map, which shows by the black mark the occupation of the country by people differing from them in the plains, but I should join issue with him at once, if by the identity of colour he meant to affirm identity of type.

Too much stress has, I think, been laid upon language as a means tracing the descent of nations. So long as language is unwritten, nothing can be more variable in its form. There was a curious instance of this in Australia. A small section of a tribe had separated from the parent stock, and migrated some one or two hundred miles. An interpreter, who was quite competent to converse with the members of the parent tribe, was despatched to the offshoot to make some arrangement with them, but when he reached there he found that the language spoken by them was altogether different from that of their relations—as different, indeed, as if we were to call a cow a dog, and *vice versa*.

When the language becomes written, of course it is more likely to remain permanent in its general form; but I am by no means disposed to admit that, because there are close analogies between the Sanscrit and both the Greek and Roman languages, there is the least reason to suppose that these nations are descended from the authors of the Sanscrit, whoever they may have been, or have any relation one with another, other than that of their common descent from Adam. If there be no other reason for repudiating this relationship, the differences of colour would be sufficient to justify me in denying my relationship with the Hindoo. I know that it has been affirmed that the change of climate is sufficient to account for the varieties of complexion among the different races of mankind, but I am in a position to contradict this by direct testimony, were the fact not sufficiently patent to anyone who has studied the action of climate upon the skin of the human race. However, I will state a fact, which will show at once how trifling the action of climate is in changing the colour of the skin. In Cochin, on the west coast of India, within some six or eight degrees of the line, there is a synagogue of Jews. Their own tradition is that they left Jerusalem before the birth of our Saviour, and have been where they now are eighteen hundred years or thereabouts; there is good evidence to the fact that they have been there upwards of fourteen hundred years. Now these men are totally different from the races surrounding them: they are large powerful men, their complexions as white as any of those here present; some have dark hair, some red or sandy; and the explanation is a simple one—they do not intermarry with the natives, but, should there not be a wife among themselves for one of the sons, a reference is made to Europe for a Jewess of pure descent, and the result is, that there is no difference in their appearance from the Europeans, of whom there are but few in the neighbourhood, but a marked contrast between them and the black races which surround them. Now, a very few generations would serve to change the colour, had the climate anything to do with the alteration, which is, I may remark, not a mere change from the external white of the European to the black of the negro, but an alteration of structure, carrying with it other marked peculiarities: for instance, the Hindoo mother carries her baby of a few weeks old with its head uncovered and exposed to the action of a vertical sun, to which it is perfectly indifferent; while the child of the white man, or the white man himself, would be prostrated with brain fever after a few minutes of a similar exposure. I may mention, by the way, that the children of the Pitcairn Islanders, the descendants of the Mutineers of the *Bounty*, who married Tahitian women, are

gradually getting darker and reverting to the Tahitian type—not on account of the climate, for they are in latitude 33 deg., but probably, or I would rather say possibly (for I have no wish to dogmatise as to causation), owing to some quality of the skin handed down by their Tahitian mothers. It is curious that this should be so, for there has been no importation of Tahitian blood, that I am aware of, but three white male heads of families have been added to the original stock derived from the crew of the *Bounty*.

In several places in India we find the burial-places of bygone times. I had an opportunity of examining some of these, which occupied a small range of hills at the back of Oapoor, on the plateau of Mysore, some twenty miles to the east of Bangalore. The site seemed to have been selected as a burial-place for a somewhat numerous population, though now it is bare of inhabitants.

Roughly speaking, the tumuli were circular in plan, their tops about twenty-four feet in diameter, their height about five feet above the surface of the ground. They had a circle of small stones at the foot of the slope forming the side, and another at the top of the same, as shown in the accompanying sketch marked A. Upon clearing away the upper portion of the tumulus, we always came to a large slab of stratified gneiss (see section marked B); I may observe that nearly all the hills and hillocks in the southern part of India are formed of this stone. In one case the stone cap or covering must have weighed twenty tons and upwards; for it was nineteen feet in its greatest length, thirteen feet in width, and some fifteen feet thick on an average. It is difficult to conceive how such a mass could ever have been placed as a covering upon the grave below. This consisted of four slabs of gneiss, some four or five feet wide, eight or ten feet long, put together as shown in the form marked C. They were in no way fixed to each other or docketed together, but seemed to lean against each other, leaving a square space surrounded by a stone—a sort of stone box, of which the cover before mentioned was the lid. Within this box was found sometimes earthen chutties or pots of different sizes, exactly similar in form to those now in common use for ordinary household purposes. These contained ashes, remnants of iron arrow-heads, some few ornaments; while in the box itself sword blades (or portions of iron eaten up by rust, which one might imagine to be sword blades, spear heads, etc.); but many of these tumuli had evidently been examined by curious inquirers before us; in one instance, so eager had these been to get an entrance, that they had had patience enough to split the stone covering into masses which they could

ile in another they had forced their way in through the stones. In those which had been entered pre-chutties had been broken, and the whole contents had been tossed about at random. In some others in which the box was filled, seemed to be untouched, were whole, and the contents such as I have stated. buried wealth had prevailed, I was told, which had here and there, one or two men to find a short road at I never heard that any had been discovered.

Condensed my observations upon these matters, my more to furnish a few facts, which may be interesting may induce others to collect and submit notices, eventually enable us, or our grandchildren, to change them into something like a reliable form. At require facts more than theories.

ation to this Paper will, together with the discussion upon it, Major PEARSE, in the October issue of the *Journal*.—Ed.]

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

Discoveries in Barton Mere, near Bury St. Edmunds. By the Rev. HARRY JONES.

RE lies about four miles east of Bury St. Edmunds. When about ten acres in extent, and overflows, by Pakenham, and Chetford, to Lynn Regis. It is fed mainly by springs. Bottom is of a chalk marl, overlaid by deposits of mud and g from one to four and five feet in depth, with a layer of as. It has been subject, time out of mind, to occasional and, with the exception of two artificial holes, was dry in the 1868. In one of these holes bones, horns, etc. (so the who survive state), bronze instruments, and stakes were y-eight years ago.

the lowest portion of the dry bed last year, and found a bones and antlers, which have been assigned by W. Boyd Esq., to *bos longifrons*, sheep or goat, pig, red deer, urus, f, and hare. I found also fragments of hand-made pottery, nts, pieces of burnt sandstone, a few flakes, scrapers, etc., a f what are apparently rude flint implements. Some of the d signs of hand-work, being cut. One had a perforation de, and it is suggested that it may have been the place for n a very rough agricultural tool; if not, one prong was

nes, antlers, and flints were mostly found in the peaty ottom layer of the deposit on the chalk marl. Above them, teen inches from the surface, we found a very clean bronze l, thirteen inches long, sharp edged, and with the holes for r thongs perfect.

he mud and clay had been cleared off a portion of the clay

marl, we found in one part fourteen stakes, from two to two and a half inches thick, and from twenty to twenty-seven inches long, pointed by some small, sharp metal instrument, driven into the clay marl, and wattled to the depth of about fourteen inches. The structure was oval, five feet seven inches long by three feet ten inches wide. The lower part was filled in with broken flints. Above the flints came the same mud as lay on the chalk marl. When this was cleared out, the water rose to nearly the level of the clay marl, and the men at work used it for a place to dip in their mugs for water. This suggested to me its probable original use. No bone or worked flints were found in it, though it was a few yards distant from the spot where we found most of the bones and antlers. When the mud was cleared out, the stakes and wattle being rotten, it caved-in in the course of a few days. It was, however, first carefully photographed by the village school-master, Mr. Dryden, School House, Pakenham, Bury St. Edmunds.

We found no other stakes, and no more bronze, but as the water has risen, a large portion of the bed of the mere is still unsearched.

HARRY JONES.

Researches in the Highlands of Turkey: including Visits to Mounts Ida, Athos, Olympus, and Pelion, to the Mirdite Albanians, etc. By the Rev. H. FANSHAWE TOZER, M.A., etc. 2 vols. J. Murray, 1869.

In a general point of view these volumes give an excellent account of the Southern Coast of European Turkey, forming, indeed, a manual of the subject, as they not only include the travels of the author at several times in the last few years, but they embrace all that his researches have been able to bring to bear for the illustration of the subject. We do not mean that this is simple compilation, but that it is the legitimate application of material, most of which is not easily accessible, in explanation of the topics under consideration. The consequence is, that many things that have been loosely or erroneously dealt with by other travellers are here explained and corrected. In a work dealing with such a wide range of country and with so many subjects, there is much that is of general interest, and which does not so immediately concern us, questions of the Troad and of archaeology, but Mr. Tozer's volumes also specially deal with many things, in which the readers of this Journal desire information. Thus with regard to the main branches or nations, the Tosk and Gueg, of that remarkable people the Albanians, there is valuable personal observation. The relations of this population are far from having been adequately studied. There is also a good deal of incidental matter on the modern Greeks and the Montenegrins, and the Wallachs. The studies of monastic life at Mount Athos give much insight into Greek character, in a direction little looked for. The illustrations of the modern Greek language are also well worthy of attention. Special chapters are devoted by the author to the folk-lore and superstitions of the modern Greeks and Albanians, and these will be the more acceptable, as the material best to be sought by the student in books, which are not very familiar.

ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES AND QUERIES.

Wandering Tradesmen—Pelasgians.—In communications to the Ethnological Society I have referred to the propagation of iron and metallic mining and metallurgy by wandering tribes, referring to the Khalubes, and in modern times to the Gypsies.

My friend Von Halin, *Reise*, 43, refers to the bands of wandering masons among the Albanians in the present day. According to his ethnological theory the Albanians are possible descendants of the Pelasgi (*Albanesische Studien*, vol. i). He goes to the extent of attributing to the Albanian alphabet a direct ancient descent from the Phœnician, in which I am not prepared to concur with him. Von Halin suggests that their possible ancestors, the Pelasgians, were also during a part of their career wandering masons, and were thus employed to construct great works at Athens and elsewhere.

At present in Asia Minor the wandering masons are Rhodians and inhabitants of other islands. It is a curious circumstance, that among forty or fifty thousand Turks in Smyrna, exercising many trades, there are no masons. There are Turkish wallers in the country. The larger Greek population of Smyrna may also be said to be deficient in masons, as they are supplied by the wanderers.

In a work just published (*Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, vol. i, page 389) the Rev. H. Fanshawe Tozer, M.A., speaks of the wandering tribes of European Turkey, of men who exercise a regular trade, and yearly migrate with a view of obtaining occupation, returning to their homes at a fixed season. He enumerates the people of the Dibra in Albania as famous carpenters and woodcutters. The Bulgarians migrate as reapers. The Wallachs supply charcoal and lime burners. To these I would add in Asia Minor the Yurucks as woodcutters and charcoal burners. There are also lime burners. The Gypsies are iron workers. The Ynrubs and Gypsies alone can be accompanied by women. The Albanians wander over the empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa as guards.

The Turkish Impersonal Var.—What is called by Viguier and other Ottoman grammarians an impersonal verb, as *var*, is by our countryman Mr. Redhouse, stuck into a note, in which he denies that it is such, and says it is "*rien autre chose que la combinaison des deux défectueux avec le verbe régulier olmak précédés des adjectifs var, existant, etc.*" (*Grammaire Ottomane*, p. 140). Now what for our great Osmanlee authority Redhouse, becomes an adjective, is by the authority on the Tartar languages—Mirza A. Kasem Beg—also made the subject of a note, and declared to be a present participle, as a challenge to orientlists. (*Grammatik der Türkisch-Tatarischen Sprache*. German translated by Dr. Zeuker, p. 100). I believe I am justified in offering an explanation of this anomaly by identifying it with the Georgian verb to be, *war*,—I am,—the true root of which is *ar*. Something may be said for and against, but there is too much resemblance between the Georgian tongue and the Turco-Tataric to

render such a proposition improbable or irrelevant. Whether this suggestion has been made by that great comparative grammarian of the Turanian languages, Bryan Hodgson, I do not know. No one has a complete set of his works, I believe, and I cannot dig such a remark out of the scattered fragments I have. The connections of the Turanian (?) group are of great importance.

Name for Woman and Wife.—In Georgian there is a rare type for woman and wife. There it has taken another form *Kali*, but the preferable form is *dedakatzi*—motherman. The word is also exceptional in its shape, and this may also be taken as a type of its antiquity, for it is composed of two words in a crude form, as in English, instead of one of the words being, according to Turanian practice, in a possessive form.

It is dangerous to theorise on single examples without experience, and therefore my remarks only go to the extent of suggestions for inquiry. It would appear as if *kali* were newer than *katzi*, and that *katzi* and *kali* are newer than *deda*—mother. To give another and perhaps truer hypothesis, the words for men and women in this class became of distinct application later than that for mother or father. I have already suggested that the words for mother and father must in some cases have been indistinctly applied at one time, as they are interchanged in various languages. The general evidence is that the word for woman is not of the same antiquity in most languages as that for man.

As to *kali*, although in Georgian it is applied to women and wife, it is also applied to girl.

32, St. George's Square, 30 May, 1869.

HYDE CLARKE.

Folklore of Greece, Asia Minor, and Albania.—In continuation of my former observations, I have lately succeeded in procuring further materials for the fairy tales of Asia Minor. Besides what I contributed to the *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* of Von Hahn, I have now identified in an Asiatic form a considerable number of his forms and obtained others. The chief results are these:—the identification of Albanian and Anatolian forms; the extension of the Hellenic area to Asia Minor; the consequent further connection of Albanian and Asiatic forms; further examples of Indian forms; further examples of Germanic forms. In my opinion the accumulation of such facts does not point to or strengthen an assumption of Indo-European or Aryan origin of folklore, but rather to an older and non-Aryan origin, for which further investigation will afford us evidences.

HYDE CLARKE.

Names of Months.—There is a list of months in ancient Armenian, which gives Sum as one name. Where can this be found? QUERIST.

Ligurians.—It has been suggested there was a Ligurian population in Britain (T. W. Wilson). Are these Ligurians represented by any of the lower western Irish types? This is worthy of investigation.

R. E.

NOTICES OF ETHNOLOGY.

Flint Implements.—During the past year much discussion has arisen consequent on the finding of undoubted flint implements and flakes in what is known as the “Hessle clay,” in Holderness, at Kelsea-hill. The implements have been found at various times by Mr. J. R. Mortimer, of Fimber, and other gentlemen, some at eight feet deep. Bones of the extinct mammalia are found beneath this clay, at Hessle and at Kelsea, but the finding of flint implements in a formation of the late post-glacial period, and so immensely older than the wide river gravels of the palæolithic age, presented a puzzle to geologists and archæologists both. Recent visits by the Rev. J. L. Rome, of Hull ; the Rev. W. S. Symonds, of Pendock, Tewkesbury ; and Sir Charles Lyell, have led to the discovery that the clay yielding the flint implements on the west of the pit is not the Hessle clay proper, though derived from it. The deposit is regarded as being the washings of many centuries from old Kelsea-hill ; and thus the highest geological authority gives a relative date to the clay which makes it probably not older, and possibly more recent, than the flint-bearing wide river sands of York and Malton. This view of the solution of the late archæologic puzzle will be presented to the various societies.—*Times*, May 11, 1869.

Chinese Cave Dwellings.—We learn that Mr. Wylie has discovered a number of cave-dwellings hewn out of the precipitous sides of high rocks. These were evidently real dwellings and not temples. They have cupboard recesses and conveniences for habitation, and they show no inscriptions or sculpture to give them an idolatrous significance. They are said to be “without doubt the most ancient architectural remains in China.” It may seem somewhat strange that, in the infancy of science, such a difficult mode of obtaining shelter should have prevailed, when loose rocks and hard clay no doubt existed all round ; but it must be recollected that piled stones fall and bricks crumble away, while caves remain for ever. It by no means follows that those who quarried out the habitations at Szechuen were barbarians or ignorant of building.—*Asiatic*.

False Charge of Human Sacrifice.—A case that doubtless illustrates the secret method by which our forefathers were stirred up to frenzy in hatred of the Jews, comes to us from Rajkote. There dwell together, in mutual abhorrence, two religious sects, the Memons and the Khojahs. Hesitating at no crime or baseness in the heat of their fanaticism, some members of the former party conceived the brilliant idea of fabricating a charge of human sacrifice against the latter. They sent a youth of their creed, in the employment of a Parsee, out of the neighbourhood ; hid some charred human bones in a garden, and gave information to the police that the Khojahs had offered him up on their altars, producing the bones in evidence. This case pre-

cisely parallels that of "Hugh Lincoln," excepting in its result. Perhaps the ignorant people of Rajkote might have been thus stirred up to the murder pitch, as were our ancestors under like circumstances, but, fortunately for themselves, they are now ruled by clear-eyed and impassible magistrates. To these the story appeared suspicious. A close investigation was commanded and the atrocious conspiracy came to light. What streams of blood have been poured out in Europe, during the ages of fanaticism and ignorance, by just such stupid mechanism of devilry as that detected by our police officers of Rajkote. [The same charges are still made by the Greeks against the Jews in Damascus, Smyrna, etc.]—*Asiatic*.

Monumental Stones in Scotland.—At the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Mr. James Drummond, R.S.A., gave an account of the state of the monumental stones in the West Highlands. After referring to the removal and destruction of ancient crosses in some districts. In the centre of the churchyard of Kilmartine is an iron railing of a most imposing height, surrounding some seven or eight of the finest memorials of the ancient chiefs of the district, which had been selected and thus protected as the tombs of the ancestors of the now ruling family; and, to make assurance doubly sure, the sculpturing has been defaced for some six or eight inches at the top of each of these, and in great staring letters carved "Poltalloch." This requires no comment. In the same churchyard is an ancient cross covering the grave of a family in the village; and the Rev. Mr. Jackson, the minister of the parish, told me that not a very long time ago it had stood by the roadside about a quarter of a mile from the church, where the socket still remains, built into a wall. It was taken from that and appropriated by the village smith, whose only descendant, an old woman, holds by the claim. In describing what he saw at Iona, Mr. Drummond said,—In the burial-ground attached to St. Oran's Chapel two masons or quarrymen, intelligent men in their way, from the granite quarries on the opposite coast of Mull, were busy selecting what they considered the best slabs, fragments of crosses, etc., and arranging them in a long row side by side. Round these they put a sort of strong invisible iron fence, having taken down a shabby wire one. But what was the use of such a protection, over which every child could scramble and every grown person could step. The surrounding wall of the churchyard at one place is some eighteen inches or two feet high; one of the most interesting and beautiful of the monuments has been sacrilegiously carried away. This theft is especially to be regretted, seeing the stone had a small figure in a sort of central niche, dressed, it is asserted, in the Highland garb. Moreover, it was one of the few with the remains of an inscription, "Hic jacet M'Leod." There was also a galley sculptured on the top of it. On inquiry, no one seemed to have missed it, the old custodian saying that no doubt I would find it among the long grass somewhere. He joined me in a fruitless search, and then pointed out where it formerly lay, and where now is a plain stone, remarking that it had not been there since he had charge.—*Times*, April 22nd, 1869.

ic Remains.—The Rev. Canon Greenwell, of Durham, at different times by Sir William Armstrong, Capt. Noble, West, R.N., and Mr. J. Hancock, of Newcastle, has been present a most interesting survey and examination of roads, camps, cairns, Druids' circles, and pit dwellings of the land. Two cairns were examined at Burgh Hill, parish of Coquet, on the south side of the Coquet, and just to the north of Fish Camp at Lordenshaws, on high ground, at the east Simonside range. The whole district abounds in remains of ancient times. Not far to the west of the Lordenshaws Camp is an interesting one, at Tosson, to the north of which four burning unburnt contracted bodies, were found, with two urns, two buttons, an iron spear-head, a bronze buckle, and a club and a red deer's antler. One of the human skulls has been found at Davis and Thurnam. Afterwards, in a hollow between the two camps, and about midway between the two camps named, on the slope of Simonside, two bronze, leaf-shaped swords, with pommels and the pommels of the sword-handles, were found, and the museum of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick on the north side of the Coquet, and about three miles from the above-mentioned relics were deposited, another bronze sword, with two rings. This is in possession of Sir William Armstrong at Crag-side. The whole slope of the northern slope of the neighbourhood of the two camps (and the same feature occurs in other places in the district) is furrowed by the most enigmatical looking hollow ways which run up to the crown of the hill, and are cut at a considerable expense of labour through the rocks having been removed from the cuttings and laid on to a great extent. It is very difficult to offer any plausible explanation as to the purpose of these "ways," though it is probable they were roads or covered ways. But objections meet every where and the roads, or whatever they are, remain an archaeological problem. Large stone cairns crown the ridges of the hills, most of which have been opened to a greater or less extent, by prospectors in search of treasure. Close by the camp at Lordenshaws are several rocks, with the curious and hitherto unexplained concentric ring markings, which are so abundant in Northumberland and Argyleshire, and reaching Ireland. These peculiar markings on rocks have been illustrated by Mr. Tate, F.G.S., and by Sir J. G. Simpson, M.D. That they are symbolic seems probable from their having been found engraved in places upon the under side of a stone which covered the remains of a burnt body—for religion has almost always been connected with burial. The details of the cairn openings are as follows: the first cairn was thirty-two feet diameter and five feet high; the centre was a cist made of four slabs of stone, set on and covered by a single slab five feet by four feet, and seven feet thick. The bottom was the natural surface of the ground. The

cist was quite empty, the body buried there having gone entirely to decay. This is almost always the case in ancient burials, where, as in a cairn of stones, the air has free admission. No relics had been interred with the body. The second cairn was a few yards to the west of the first, twenty-six feet diameter, and four feet high. At the centre was a cist formed of four slabs set on edge, with a cover three feet by two feet three inches, with a second and smaller one laid on the top of it. The body had been laid in the cist, and then covered with light sand, but, as in the preceding opening, not the least trace of it was found. Among the sand were pieces of charcoal and sherds of British pottery. Within the camp at Lordenshaws were two (if not three) "hut circles"—the foundations of the humble habitations in which these early people lived. One of these was examined by clearing out the soil which had accumulated within it. It was not quite circular, having a nineteen feet N. and S. diameter, and a seventeen feet E. and W. The surrounding wall was three feet thick, and fourteen inches high, and in some places was very regularly laid in courses of carefully selected stones. The entrance had been on the S.E. side, but from the walling being somewhat destroyed the exact width could not be made out. On the south and east sides the hut had been flagged. None of the floor stones showed signs of fire, but there were several showing fire action found above the floor. A row of floor stones extended round the circle, and at the north-east side one had been used as a grindstone, and was worn quite smooth. One flagstone had a hole bored through it. No charcoal, potsherds, bones, or flints were found, nor anything which showed sign of habitation except the burnt stones and the two floor-stones named. One relic, supposed to be a whetstone, was, however, found. Two places of sepulchre were examined on the north side of the Coquet upon Cartington Fell. One was a flat bowl-shaped cairn, of large size, in the centre of which was a cist. The only remains of the body which once occupied it was a small piece of one femur. Near the cist was a deposit of burnt bones, the remains of a body which had been burnt on the spot, and covered with charcoal and a flat stone. About one hundred yards north of this cairn was a circle of large stones, eight of which were standing and one laid down. The inner diameter of the circle was fourteen feet. These stones were partly enclosed within a cairn, twenty-eight feet diameter and three and a half feet high, and it is probable that at one time the inner space of the circle had been filled with stones since removed for walling purposes, and that the circle was within a cairn. At the centre was a hole which contained the bones of a burnt body. Canon Greenwell and his friends have this week commenced a series of investigations on the Howardean hills in Yorkshire, on estates of Major Stapylton, Mr. Fairfax, and Earl Feversham.—*Times*, May 28th, 1869.

Excavation of a large raised Stone Circle or Barrow near the Turreegaon, one mile from the Military Station of Kamptee, N. W. Provinces of India. By Major GEORGE GODFREY PEARSE, R.E. July 1867.

[As read January 23rd, was read at a subsequent Meeting.]

The capital of the Central Provinces of India. It is in the midst of a rich plain; and scattered thickly about the attestations of a high state of ancient civilization. In the very midst of the civil station are the remains, the barrows and kistvaens of that early race, the vestiges of whom are found in so many far separated parts of the world. These remains are scattered westward for seven miles, to Hingnah, formerly a military station. The barrows in the Hingnah Plain are countless: one in mute astonishment; but to an Englishman they are interesting. They are similar to the barrows on Salisbury Plain; and, to add to the singularity of the scene, in the midst of the Hingnah Plain stands a small hill—so large, so natural-looking that the idea struck any one that it could possibly be artificial. In the early part of 1867, whilst gazing at the barrows on this hill, that the idea was impressed on me that it

I had then never read the work of the Rev. E. H. Blyden, 'The Druidical Temples of the County of Wilts,' and the collection of the hill of Silbury near Avebury. I here find a sketch of the hill of Silbury in this book of the Rev. E. H. Blyden, and therefrom you may draw a just conception of the Hingnah. I made no measurements of that hill; but I found it was three-fourths of a mile in circumference, and so on. After I felt convinced that the hill of Hingnah was artificial, I mentioned my surmise to the natives of the country; but first they evidently discredited the possibility; and, eventually, in many instances, changed their opinion. When I returned to Nagpore I mentioned my opinion of the Hingnah Hill to my friends Messrs. Alfred Lyall and Captain Carnac, both of the Bengal Civil Service. They did not conceive the possibility of its being correct; but, after much consideration, allowed that it must be correct. The geological formation of the Hingnah Hill was peculiar in every way from all the other hills in the country. Now, after much consideration of the matter, having read this book of the Rev. E. Duke, after the prehistoric remains on Salisbury Plain, I feel that there can be no doubt that the hill of Hingnah

stood to the people of the Nagpore barrows in the same light, and for the same use and purpose, as did the hill of Silbury to the ancient inhabitants of Wiltshire.

I have mentioned this subject of the Hingnah Hill and the prehistoric remains thereabout to my father, Dr. George Pearse, Honorary Physician to the Queen, and late Inspector-General, Medical Department of the Madras Army; and he, who was quartered with his regiment at Kamptee nearly forty years since, adds a further subject of interest regarding these ancient remains to us Englishmen; for he tells me that once, when shooting some miles north-east of Kamptee, he came across some large monolithic remains which greatly astonished him and his friend Colonel Hadfield, and which appeared to them of the Stonehenge class; but neither had ever seen that place. I never whilst quartered at Kamptee heard of these antiquities; but no doubt this paper will on its reaching Nagpore cause some one there to interest himself in the subject, and to let us know more about it by-and-by. The Rev. E. Duke mentions that the hill of Silbury is sixteen miles from Stonehenge; by my father's account that must be about the distance of the antiquities he saw from the hill of Hingnah. It would, indeed, be very interesting if finally it should be found that in Central India and in Wiltshire prehistoric man had the same funereal barrows, surrounding huge artificial hills, some miles away from these monolithic remains.

At Nagpore there is a museum. There is also a Scientific, Literary, and Antiquarian Society; its secretary is Mr. Henry Rivett-Carnac, who is in correspondence with Sir John Lubbock and many other *savants* on prehistoric subjects. For many years past, excavations have been made of the barrows of the country. They were made first of all by Mr. Hyslop, a learned Scotch missionary, now dead. Mr. Rivett-Carnac has of late years excavated a good many. The articles they have brought to light are for the most part in the Nagpore Museum. They are pieces of broken pottery, small stone watering-troughs, and utensils for varied use of iron and steel; no bone, horn, flint, stone, or bronze implement, I believe, in a single instance has ever been found in any of these barrows.

It being my intention to return to England in the autumn of 1867, I determined before doing so to excavate a barrow myself and to bring home the things found, and to see what the *savants* of Europe thought of them. I therefore selected the barrow of Wurreegaon, by far the largest in the country; and the out-turn from it answered my expectations. The fruits of the excavation I have presented to the British Museum, where they are exhi-

rehistoric department. I have received the thanks as for the presentation, and am assured that it is ng.

honour herewith to exhibit a sketch of the barrow, n of which I now describe.

of Wurreegaon is situated one mile west from the onment of Kamptee, in the Central Provinces of the village to which the remains of the Nagpore) army fled after their final disaster at Nagpore in s pursued and surprised in a grove of mangoe-trees a mile west of the village, by Sir John Doveton and Jenkins, where it suffered much, whilst the British ng.

circle lies a quarter of a mile east of the village; herefore, is situated equidistant between the battle-stone circle or barrow. The patel, or head man of old me that the village has only been on its present hty years. It was formerly near the mangoe-grove,

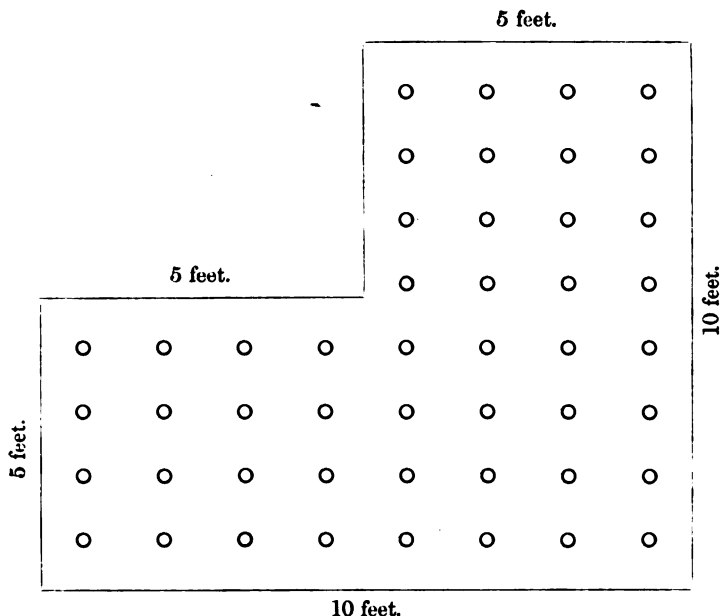
take the old village half a mile from the site of the e inhabitants of Wurreegaon have no tradition remound: they imagine it a "Deo kulla," or God's

it has never been built on; that it is decidedly nslah or Mahratta times; that it is not of the predecessors, the Goonds, whom, be it noted, many from their language, imagine to be of the first or vave of immigration to this part of India. The people aon further said that the barrow may have been of the "Gowlees," or Cowherds, that race of mystic hich haunt the imaginations of Indians, Egyptians, siatic nations—still talked of, we read in Atkinson, and still daily read of in the "Prem Sagur," where nen are mixed up with the loves of their gods. The of Wurreegaon are now chiefly of the Koombie, or gricultural, class or caste, and have Brahmins with s colony arrived here, according to their books and 900 years ago, and arrived from the north. It is to at 900 years ago, when Argans and Dravidians came is spot, it was held in no veneration, that it had 1, and that the site of the village then fixed on, and lasted to our day, was half a mile away from this ehistoric remain. Thus it seems deducible that we expect information of the race of these barrow-raisers Sanskrit literature of that age and of this region, or raditions of such aboriginal races as the Goonds of

The barrow of Wurreegaon is a solitary one; there is none other near it for a few miles, say four or five. It is four or five times as large as any other barrow I have met with in the Central Indian Provinces; and I have seen hundreds there. It is 75 yards in circumference. It is somewhat oval-shaped, the north and south diameter being shorter than that of the east and west. It contains about 35,000 cubic feet of earth. The stones forming a circle round it are from 3 and 4 feet solid to 30 feet solid, and from 1 to 4 feet high. In some parts there is a double circle of stones. The country round about does not indicate where these large stones and where this large quantity of earth came from. But it is to be observed that the country about is very undulating and cut up by ravines; it is therefore to be presumed that the ancient excavations for the earth of this mound have been washed by the rains of ages into natural looking undulations. The accompanying sketch illustrates this.

I selected the centre of the mound as the place for excavation. I excavated about 9 yards square, and commenced work on the 4th July 1867. The earth was very hard and tenacious. On the 6th July, the third day of work, at 4 feet depth I came across a small piece of an earthen vessel or vase. This made the men work with hope; they had begun to despair. At 5 feet depth I came across a regular jumble of earthen vessels, black and brown. The black ones were very fragile, and at once crumbled to dust. The brown ones, answering to Roman Samian ware, were thicker, stronger, and more tenacious; and though they would not come out whole, in which state I found them, still many large pieces were secured. The black vessels had covers with a cone-like top to them. The earthen vessels had flat bottoms, 4 inches in diameter, whereon to stand steadily. Numbers of natives of all classes watched the excavation with much interest. Men from various parts of India were there; and they told me that the cone-top covers and the flat bottoms were peculiarities of construction not now anywhere to be found in the "Ghurras" or "chatties" (*i. e.* earthen water-vessels of our time). I believe they are correct in the assertion. It was very interesting to watch these natives of varied creed, colour, and caste pass round these pieces of pottery and lay them down gently, saying "these belonged to some race of which we know nothing; we (*i. e.* our ancestors and ourselves) never used such vessels." At the same time, they acknowledged that the flat bottoms and the cone-top covers were far preferable to the rounded bottoms and saucer-shaped covers now in universal use in India. On this third day were also found some husks of cocoa-nut shells as strong and as good as if the nuts were of late growth, only that they were

ebon-black, whereas the natural colour is brown. These were found in very hard, dry clay, to which rain or moisture had never penetrated. Though I worked in the heart of the monsoon, or rainy season, the rain could not in the least penetrate the earth, so indurated had it become. The earthen vessels I found had been placed horizontally on the ground with regularity, thus :—



On the 10th July 1867, which was my fourth day of excavation, I found the iron end of a plough—an agricultural utensil still in use by the natives, and termed by them “Nangur ke oolie.” The village head man of Wurreegaon was an intelligent Mahratta Brahmin; and his opinion was that the ploughshare-ends now in daily use are preferable to those found in this barrow. This implement, like most of those found in the barrow, was tipped with steel; it was found at the depth of 6 feet, or 1 foot below the layer of earthen vessels.

On the 11th July 1867 (*i. e.* on the fifth day of excavating), at about 6½ feet depth, I found the remains of a man. The bones went to dust as soon as touched; but as some adhered to the firm black earth, they are preserved. Part of the skull, some teeth (one a molar one), are amongst the remains preserved. The body was 6 feet or 6 feet 1 inch long. The bones are of a large-skulled and large-boned person. It was horizontally laid in the

ground. The body lay thus with reference to the cardinal points:—

N.

E.

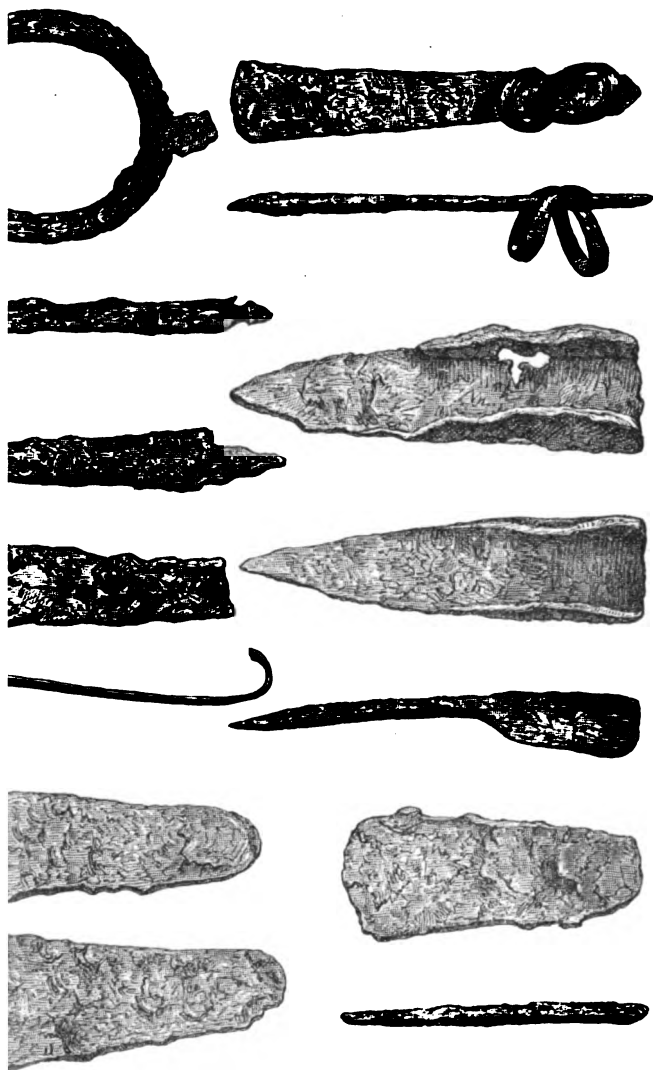
W.

S.

On the right of the body, near the arm, was found an iron steel-tipped ploughshare-end (No. 3 of the British-Museum articles) and another steel implement (No. 4 of the collection). On the left of the body were the iron and steel implements, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 7½. On the chest were copper vessels, which broke to pieces on being touched; on the cover of one of the copper vessels, which were about 5 inches in diameter, were figures representing geese, a snake, and a bird in *alto relievo*. Below the human remains the earth was much softer, the natural level of the country being found. The broken pieces of the copper vessels are in the Nagpore Museum.

On the 12th July 1867 (that is, on the sixth day of excavating) was found, on the same level as the first body, a second body of about the same size, parallel to it and separated from it a yard or so. Its right leg was doubled horizontally on the knee, thus forming two sides of a triangle; and in the aperture was found a frying-pan (figured, No. 12); and very similar utensils to this, called by the natives "Kurraie," are still in use with them; the handles of this utensil are very neatly rivetted on. A wire ring of gold and alloy was found to the right of the body; it is very large. The bones of both bodies, for the most part, are in the Nagpore Museum; some few of the best, with the different things found, were given to the British Museum. A number of iron and steel implements and weapons (numbered from 14 to 25) were found to the right and left of this second body; they are spoons, knives, plough-ends, a spatula, &c. On the chest of the body were again found two copper vessels with lids on them, which all broke to pieces on being touched. But from the inside of one of these copper vessels was extracted a pretty little copper ornament (figured, No. 26), the gem, I believe, of all that has as yet been found in these stone circular barrows of India. It has figures of geese ornamenting it. The goose was sacred to the early Buddhists of India; but it is not therefore necessarily to be inferred that this barrow was erected over Buddhists. The *contra* argument is just as probable, viz. that when Buddhism arose in India the goose was then venerated. This ornament seems to be a cup-holder for an oil-lamp; and if so, we here

prototype of those large brass lamps with figures of
them which are for sale in the bazars of all Indian
earthen vessels that were come across were from



h to one-fourth of an inch in thickness ; whereas those
d, viz. those deepest down, were in many instances half
hick. In material they differ from those in use in the

present day. In the present day they are made of pure clay; whereas those of the barrow were made from the fine gravel, such as is to be found in the adjoining Kurradie hills, a mile or so distant from the barrow. In this gravel there is much mica and talc. The earthen vessels evidenced that the raisers of the barrow were acquainted with the use of the potter's wheel.



The excavations on July the 13th, 1867 (*i. e.* on the seventh day), brought to light a few pieces of earthen vessels, which made me hope that more objects would still be found; but

though I continued till I had got down 12 feet, or some 5 feet below the bodies, nothing more was found.

It is to be observed that this excavation has not brought to light any of those trough-like stone things which the late Mr. Hyslop found in so many of the barrows he excavated. Considering how this the largest barrow that has been opened out is full of agricultural implements, there seems reason to conclude that these stone-like troughs of Mr. Hyslop were portable cattle-watering-troughs, such as are to be seen very generally in India alongside of village wells, and not, as is sometimes supposed, lidless sarcophagi.

I have recounted the history of the excavation. Abler men than myself, from this and other accounts of excavations, will probably deduce and tell us, all in good time, who these Indian barrow-raisers were, and what relation they had to those of our own country. But I know how valuable it is to get the opinion of the original discoverers in all things. I thus briefly give my opinion on the raisers of this barrow.

They were neither Buddhists nor Hindoos, or they would have burnt their dead.

Yūvans (*i. e.* Greeks) are mentioned in Sanskrit history, and Christians in India have also been known to exist from apostolic times; but no coins have been found in the barrows, which would have been the case had the raisers been either one or the other.

It is a disputed point if writing was known in India before the Macedonian invasion, about 330 B.C.; opinion tends to the belief of its non-existence. At least no one can show a tablet with written characters of Indian origin of an anterior date. So with money; the Greek authors mention money as in use in India when the Macedonians invaded India. The money is known to have been the "*Kershas*" mentioned by Menu; they are punch-marked and have no characters, and passed by tale. The era of Menu may be put down as 1200 years B.C. The raisers of this barrow were civilized in a sense; but they had not, as far as we know, the use of written characters, which carries them up to 330 B.C.; they had not the use of money, which carries them up to pre-Menuite times (*i. e.* 1200 B.C.).

Thus, I believe, they were neither Buddhists nor Hindoos, Greeks nor Christians. It seems probable they are of anterior date to 330 B.C., and possibly that they are of 1200 B.C.

It is very certain:—

They were civilized.

They were tall and strong.

They were very numerous to have raised such a monument (demanding much time and labour) over two of their number.

They made the best of steel.

They were agriculturists.

They ate wheaten cakes and fried food.

They burnt oil.

They possessed goldsmiths.

They rode horses.

They drove carriages or chariots.

They knew the use of the potter's wheel.

They could give fair representations of animals and birds.

They could smelt copper.

They were traders, the cocoa-nut requiring to be carried 350 miles in a direct line to them.

And, by the instruments and articles they have left behind them, they appear to have been early (if not the earliest) users of many of those of a household economical nature which are to be seen in a more or less modified form in general use now-a-days in India.

They appear to have been men of peace. In the time of Buddha, about 600 B.C., there was very general peace; and he sent some of his disciples to the Nagpore country to preach his doctrines to the people of these regions. But these Nagpore remains have no resemblance whatever to those of Behar or Megadha, which was Buddha's own country. I have seen them all, having been quartered in Behar in the midst of them, and having studied and examined them. Amongst them I found old Buddhist and Hindu Kersha coins; in Nagpore nothing of the sort. Having seen the very oldest Buddhist remains, and also these prehistoric barrow remains of Nagpore, I am firmly impressed that the raisers of the barrows are by some centuries anterior to the age of Buddha. I can understand that it was to their descendants that the disciples of Buddha were sent.

Numberless barrows have been opened, but no flint, or bone, or stone weapons have been found in them.

The existence of iron and of steel (of steel of very great hardness too) is remarkable, but only proves the truth of old story. The Book of Genesis speaks of iron. The ruins of Babylon and Nineveh have produced and given us iron relics; some are in the British Museum. The '*Shahnameh*,' a Persian history compiled from the oldest sources, mentions the existence of iron in the Pashdadian dynasty, or that which preceded the race of Cyrus the Great.

As far as I have seen the prehistoric remains of the ancient Europeans, of the men of the Cromlech and Kistvaen period, I find their dead buried below the level of the ground. But to place two dead bodies on the ground, and around them their agricultural, their household, their war, and their useful implements, to place with them corn, oil, and water, and then to raise

over them a huge mound, and encircle it with large stones, carries our thoughts back to a period when the world was very different from what it has been for many ages past. Notwithstanding all that has been here said, the use of frying-pans &c., the modern shape of the spoons &c., makes me hesitate in authoritatively attributing these barrows to an ancient prehistoric race. I feel that there is great doubt in the whole matter. I am anxious to learn and to hear the opinions of those wiser than myself on this subject, for the purpose of guiding me in my future researches. And this is the reason why I have been induced to do myself the honour of reading this paper to you.

Remarks, by Dr. HOOKER, on Dr. Campbell's paper, p. 143.

Dr. Hooker pointed out the peculiar position of Sikkim in its geographical, climatal, and political relations to Tibet, Bhotan, Nepal, and the British possessions. He called attention to the labours of Dr. Campbell, who, as Political Resident in those hills when they were first attached to British India, had made of what was previously a scantily inhabited out-district, covered with impenetrable jungle, an emporium of trade and a thriving settlement; citing also the *éloge* passed on Dr. Campbell's labours by Lord Napier of Magdala on a recent public occasion, who had himself served under Dr. Campbell in Sikkim.

Dr. Hooker dwelt upon the recent introduction of tea- and ciuchona-cultivation in Sikkim, and their rapid spread, and the importance of holding its passes into Tibet, as an outlet for the Indian trade into Tibet. He contrasted the productions and requirements of the countries north and south of the Himalaya, showing that Tibet was, and must be, dependent on India for its future development, and that, whether held by Russians or Chinese, they must buy from us the staples of living and clothing. The time, he said, should not be distant when Tibet, and, indeed, a great part of Central Asia, that was now supplied with tea grown several thousand miles off in China, would be supplied by that grown within sixty miles of them in Sikkim and elsewhere along the Himalaya—and that, for this, all that was wanted was the opening of the passes, of which those of Sikkim alone were available anywhere to the eastward of Ku-maon, in the North-western Himalaya.

ORDINARY MEETING, APRIL 13TH, 1869.

[*Held at the Museum of Practical Geology.*]

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

ON THE ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF
NORTH AMERICA.

New Member.—JOHN MORRIS, Esq.

Hon. Fellows.—Prof. JOSEPH HENRY; Dr. LEIDY; Prof. F. V. HAYDEN; Dr. A. BASTIAN; Prof. CARL VOGT.

Corresponding Member.—G. DENNIS, Esq., H.M. Vice-Consul for Bengazi.

AN original Portrait of Montezuma was exhibited by N. E. Hodges, Esq., late Vice-Consul for Jackmel, in Hayti, who sent the following account:—

Montezuma, Emperor of Mexico.

THIS portrait was abstracted from the palace of Columbus, in the city of St. Domingo, in 1822, when President Boyer's troops took possession of the "eastern part" of the island, and the whole fell under one government and so remained for several years.

There were also in the palace portraits of Columbus and Las Casas which suffered the same fate, and became the property of General Borgella, the newly appointed governor of the city. The two latter portraits were sent to France; copies were taken, and they were sent back to General Borgella, who valued them greatly.

The Haytian officer who took the picture from the walls of the palace, and a few years later presented it in a torn and crumpled state to Mr. Hodges, the British Vice-Consul at Jackmel, stated that the frame which held this painting was of mahogany and was gilt, but fell to pieces from age. Upon it was inscribed "Montezuma" "d'après nature, par — Anno Domini —." The restoration of this portrait from its damaged state was done by Peel, of Golden Square, 1842.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

THE broad physical features of the American continent may be described in a few words. Near its eastern coast a range of mountains runs nearly north and south from the Arctic Ocean to Cape

interrupted only by the low ground of the Isthmus of Panama; while, in the Andes, its peaks reach heights surpassed only by the highest elevations of the Himalayan range. Westward of this the general slope of the continent is steep and rapid to the west; eastward, it is slow and gradual, giving rise to vast and fertile plains, bounded by the North and South Atlantic. But, in both North and South America, each plain is interrupted towards the east by mountain-ranges of a secondary importance, the Appalachians in the north, and the Brazilian mountains in the south.

Rivers, separated only by very low watersheds, drain the two divisions of the American continent,—some running north, as the Mackenzie and the Orinoko; some to the east, St. Lawrence and the Amazons; and others trending more westerly, as the Mississippi and the Rio de la Plata. By these almost all parts of the American plains are rendered easily accessible from the east and north coasts; while, on the other hand, they are, in most regions, considerable obstacles to migration from the coast eastwards into those plains.

On the eastern coast, the greater part of America is separated from the nearest land by a wide ocean, containing but very few islands, and these altogether in the Old-World side of the middle Atlantic. Only in the extreme north do the Shetlands, the Faroes, and Iceland present a widely interrupted chain of stations between Western Europe and Greenland. On the western side, it is the greater part of the coast of America separated by hundreds of miles of sea from the nearest Polynesian islands, but the westerly course of the trade winds is against navigation from the east.

Still more than on the eastern side, however, are the obstacles to immigration removed on the north-west coast; not only is the strait of Behring very narrow, but far to the south of it, in a milder climate, the chain of the Aleutian islands offers an almost continuous bridge between Asia and America, over which troops could readily pass to a region which is separated from the rest of the continent only by the low and easily traversed northern extremity of the great backbone of the continent.

Supposing the American continent to have been peopled long subsequent to that at which it had attained its present relations to the Old World, it is vastly more probable that it was stocked with men from Northern Asia than from any other quarter.

It is quite as reasonable to adopt a different supposition. From the Mexican frontier to the Arctic Ocean the fauna of North

America abounds in species representing, if not identical with, those of Europe and Asia; while, at the same time, it presents an admixture of forms of a totally different and especially American character. South of the Mexican frontier the purely American groups increase in number and variety as the Old-World forms disappear; and the fauna of the vast region which stretches from Mexico to Cape Horn is as peculiar as that of Australia.

During the glacial epoch the greater part of North America shared the fate of Northern Asia and Europe, having been covered with ice, and partly submerged; and its present animal population is, without doubt, the result of migration subsequent to that period, in large part from the Old World, and in less degree from the region south of Mexico, or "Austro-Columbia." The Austro-Columbian fauna, as a whole, therefore existed antecedently to the glacial epoch. Did man form part of that fauna? To this profoundly interesting question no positive answer can be given; but the discovery of human remains associated with extinct animals in the caves of Brazil, by Lund, lends some colour to the supposition that he may have done so. Assuming the supposition to be correct, we should have to look in the human population of America, as in the fauna generally, for an indigenous or Austro-Columbian element and an immigrant, or "Arctogeal," element.

Following out this hint, it certainly appears that, notwithstanding their general similarity in hair and complexion, two widely different forms are distinguishable among the native races of America, namely, the Esquimaux, in the extreme north, and the Patagonians, in the heart of South America. The Esquimaux are short of stature, and are extremely dolichocephalic; the Patagonians, on the contrary, are among the tallest of men, and are eminently brachycephalic.

The resemblance in habit, and in the nature of their weapons and tools, between the Esquimaux and the prehistoric races who roamed over the north of Europe during the glacial epoch has led to an ethnological identification of the latter with the former. However much there may be to be said in favour of this hypothesis, it must be recollected that it rests on a very unsafe foundation, so long as we know nothing, or next to nothing, of the structural peculiarities of the prehistoric people. If it should be correct, however, the Esquimaux will represent in American ethnology the bison and the beaver among lower mammals, as immigrant Old-World elements.

Do the brachycephali of the South represent the indigenous or Austro-Columbian element of American ethnology? Certain considerations appear to be in favour of that hypothesis. All we know

st ancient civilized inhabitants of America, the mound-
f the Mississippi valley, tends to show that they were
arked brachycephali; while, on the other hand, the great
f the Red Indians of North America (including, I am
believe, those of the west coast) are naturally pro-
olichocephali; and dolichocephalic tribes are met with on
of northern South America and in Fuegia.

ssible that the brachycephali of South America are the
the preglacial population of Austro-Columbia, and that the
ali are partly unmixed immigrants, and partly result
ntermixture of the primitive with an immigrant popula-
this be admitted, I should be disposed further to ask,
he Esquimaux population represent the northern immi-

the Red Indians the mixed race between them and the
umbians? Further, I think it may be well to keep in
otion of the affinity between the Guaranis and the
which seems to have taken strong hold of the mind of
gether with the possibility of a migration from North
the Canaries westward to America.

to suggest such problems as these, but quite impossible,
ent state of our knowledge, to solve them.

r may have been the origin of the primitive population
, the conditions which gave rise to the development of a
of civilization seem to have been the same in the New
in the Old. The fertile valley of the Nile and the
re Mediterranean determined the locality of the earliest
ed communities of the Old World. In the Mexican Gulf,
y the great breakwater of the West-India Islands, and
varmed by the equatorial current, America has her Me-
and, in the Mississippi, her Nile. And here, unknown

Columbus, native agriculture converted the maize and
nto the staple food of a numerous population, invented
plate, and pulque in place of tea, coffee, and wine, ap-
to the uses of flax and silk, reared massive works in
ulptured stone (the equals of which, like the hieroglyphic
h which they are covered, must be sought in ancient
l organized a complex and peculiar system of social

XIX.—On the Native Races of New Mexico.

By A. W. BELL, Esq., M.D.

FOUR distinct races are now encountered by the traveller in New Mexico. These are:—

	Population.
1. The Americans	about 13,000
2. The Mexicans	" 75,000
3. The Pueblo Indians	" 16,000
4. The Wild Indians	" 23,000
	<hr/> 127,300

The semicivilized native races and their natural enemies require to be described separately. The Pueblo, or town Indians, are the most remarkable and important tribe to be found in any part of the United States or Canada; they are, in fact, the only native race whose presence on the soil is not a curse to the country.

Whilst on the plains, whatever belief we had in the nobility of the red-skin, or the cruelty of the frontier man, quickly vanished, and we learnt to regard the Indian of the plain as the embodiment of all that was cruel, dastardly, and degrading. We were not long, however, in the Rio Grande valley before we encountered a new race, as different from our old enemies as light from darkness.

I first met a small party of these people on the plain a few miles west of the Pecos; they were neatly dressed in buckskin skirt and breeches, which latter fitted tightly to their legs; they wore mocassins on their feet, and a girdle around their waist. Their heads were bare, their black hair was cut square in front almost to the eyebrows, and gathered up behind into a queue bound round with red cord; a narrow band also passed over the hair in front and was fastened underneath. They were short in stature, thickly built, with quiet intelligent faces and large sorrowful eyes. I never, during my residence in their valley, saw a Pueblo Indian laugh; I do not remember even a smile. They carried no arms that we could discover, but each pushed before him a little hand-cart composed of a body of wickerwork on wooden wheels, filled with grapes, the produce of their vineyards. They were on their way to Los Vegas, and seemed so sure of a good market that we had to pay ten dollars for a large basket of grapes weighing from 50 to 80 lbs.

At Santa Fé I watched these people coming and going, bringing their produce in the morning (peaches, grapes, onions, beans, melons, and hay) for sale, then buying what necessities they wanted, and trudging off in the afternoon quietly and



modestly to their country villages. I looked on them with pity, and wondered what they thought of this new state of things, and how they liked the intruders whose presence they bore so meekly. I met Mr. Ward, their agent, who treats them as the kindest father would his children; and often went to his house, where Indian parties from a distance were sure to resort for information and advice. When I left Santa Fé I passed through many of their villages, saw them in their houses, visited their fields and vineyards, and watched them as they assembled on their housetops at sunrise to look for the coming of Montezuma from the east.

The semicivilized Indian of the United States is only to be found in New Mexico and Arizona, south of the 36th parallel of latitude; nor is there any proof whatever, but merely some vague traditions, to show that he ever came from the north, or spread further north than the Rio Grande valley and the accessible branches of the San Juan River. In these two territories (together equal in size to France) only five small remnants of this once powerful nation remain at the present time. These are:—

1. The Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande valley; population 5866.

2. The Indians of Zúñi, situated about latitude 35°, longitude 108° 50', with a population at present of 1200 souls.

3. The Indians of the seven Moqui pueblos, situated about 150 miles north-west of Zúñi; population 2500.

4. The Pimas of the Gila valley, occupying eight villages; population 3500.

5. The Papago Indians of the regions south of it, occupying about nineteen villages, and numbering about not less than 4000 in all.

The Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande valley were early converted to Christianity by the Spanish missionaries. Each pueblo has its church, built of adobe, and dedicated to its patron saint. An exact copy of one of their churches was given in the series of illustrations exhibited.

The following Table was kindly furnished me by Mr. Ward; it clearly shows the state of the population during three-quarters of a century:—

**TABULAR STATEMENT OF INDIAN PUEBLOS (VILLAGES) WITHIN THE
TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO.**

No. of pueblos.	Names of pueblos, with the names of their respective patron saints.	Census.					Spanish grants in acres.	Date of grants.
		1790.	1809.	1850.	1860.	1864.		
1	Taos, San Geronimo de	518	527	361	363	361	17,560	1689
2	Pecuries, San Lorenzo de ...	254	313	222	143	122	17,460	"
3	Abiquiu, San Tomas de	216	126	...	...	...	...	"
4	San Juan de los Caballeros...	260	208	568	341	385	17,544	"
5	Santa Clara	134	220	279	179	144	17,368	"
6	San Ildefonso	240	283	139	154	161	17,292	"
7	Pojuaque, Nuestra Señora } de Guadalupe de	53	000	48	37	29	13,520	"
8	Nambe, San Francisco de ...	155	133	111	103	94	13,586	"
9	Tesuque, San Diego de	138	160	119	97	101	17,471	"
10	Pecos, Nuestra Señora de } los Angeles de	152	000	...	...	...	...	"
11	Cochiti, San Buenaventura de	720	697	254	172	229	24,256	"
12	San Domingo	650	720	666	261	604	74,743	"
13	San Felipe	532	405	411	360	427	34,766	"
14	Sandia, Nuestra Señora de } los Dolores de	304	364	241	217	197	24,187	1748
15	Isleta, San Agustin de la ...	410	487	751	440	786	110,080	"
16	Belen, Nuestra Señora de la .	000	133	...	...	...	...	"
17	Santa Ana	356	550	399	316	298	...	"
18	Zia, Nuestra Señora de la } Assumpcion de	275	286	124	117	103	17,514	1689
19	Jemes, San Diego de	485	297	365	650	346	17,510	"
20	Laguna, San José de la	668	1022	749	927	988	...	"
21	Acoma, San Estevan de	820	816	350	523	491	...	"
22	Zuñi, Nuestra Señora Gua- } dalupe de	1935	1598	1500	1300	1200	...	"
		9275						
	<i>Within the jurisdiction of El Paso.</i>							
1	Seneca, San Antonio	410	...	...	...	...	...
2	Isleta, San Antonio de la ...	430	...	...	...	...	...
3	Socorro, Nuestra Señora del .	620	...	...	...	...	...
4	San Lorenzo del Real	440	...	...	...	...	...
26	Total	11,175	9345	7657	6700	7066		

NOTES.—The censuses of 1790 and 1809 were taken by order of the Spanish authorities. This duty was usually performed by the missionaries, or parish priests, residing among the Indians; hence there is every reason to believe that they were accurately taken.

The censuses of 1850 and 1860 were taken by the deputy marshals, appointed for the purpose by the United States; and those of 1864 were taken by me, at which time I visited all the pueblos, Zuñi excepted; but my previous visits to, and knowledge of, this pueblo warrant me in placing the number of its inhabitants at the figures inserted in this return.

To read the names of the pueblos properly, they must be read thus:—San Geronimo de Taos, San Lorenzo de Pecuries, and so on, except Nos. 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, and 17, which must be read as they are inserted, and also San Lorenzo del Real.

iphers indicate no census given during the date under which they are
 orted.

he dots opposite to the names of the three respective pueblos are simply
 added to fill space, those pueblos having been out of existence for many
 s.

JOHN WARD, *Special Agent for Pueblos.*

mta Ft, New Mexico, July 10, 1867.

lost of the above villages are in the main valley. Others,
 as the Pueblos de Toas, Laguna, Acoma, San Domingo,
 others, occupy isolated positions on some of the tributary
 ums. The villages in the Rio Grande valley differ but little
 those of the Mexicans, except that the houses are larger
 loftier. They are usually of only one story, but each house
 pable of containing several families; the roofs are flat; and
 ifferent corners of the village watch-towers rise above the

. In the centre of the chief house in the village, a good-
 room, partly formed by excavation into the earth, is usually
 found. This is the estufa, or place of worship, where the
 d fire was formerly kept burning, and where all religious
 es used to be held before the Indians became Christians.

it is used in most villages only as a council-chamber; but
 el M'Leod, of Santa Fé, assures me that in some places
 ured fire is still kept burning, and that on one occasion he
 ermitted to visit an estufa where it continues to exist.

h pueblo has a separate government of its own, consisting,
 of a cacique, or governor, chosen from amongst the men
 ced in years—the sages, in fact. The cacique holds office
 e, he presides over the council, and is chosen for his
 n. His decisions are usually adopted. Secondly, a war
 a is selected from amongst the braves, who arranges all
 igns made against an enemy, and through his lieutenant
 aster of the horse, as we should call him) has the ma-
 ent of the nahallada, or horse-herd. Thirdly, the fiscal-
 and his assistants regulate church matters, repair the
 es, &c. The old and experienced men collectively are the
 kers, and elect all officers except the cacique, who is
 by universal suffrage. The people of the villages do not
 k the same tongue; and they resort to the Spanish lan-
 which they acquire with tolerable facility, as a common
 of communication. The Pueblos form four groups, if
 according to dialects:—

ueblo de Toas, de Picuries, Sandia and Isleta.

an Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Pojuaque,
 uque.

ochité, San Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Silla (Zia)
 una, Acoma.

mes.

The people of Zúñi speak a fifth dialect. Those of the Moqui pueblos speak the same as that of Jemes. The Spanish missionaries found little difficulty in teaching those natives to read and write; but since the decay of religious establishments throughout Northern Mexico education has been arrested, and now not a single school exists in any of the pueblos.

In religion they are, to outward appearance, devoted Roman Catholics; the few priests who still work amongst them are Frenchmen, and are much respected and beloved. The rites of baptism, marriage, and burial take place in the village church, and they keep the feast-day of their patron saint with great festivities.

The isolated pueblos, which lie at considerable distances from the main valley, are very different in appearance from those simpler one-storied villages which once dotted the banks of the Río Grande del Norte in very considerable numbers. In these, the distinctive peculiarities of the native fortifications are very striking. Laguna, on the Río de San José, is built on the summit of a limestone cliff, some forty feet high, possessing considerable natural advantages for defence. The houses are mostly of stone plastered over with mud, and two stories high. Neither windows nor doors are to be found on the outer wall of the first story; the second rises a little back from the roof of the first, leaving a ledge in front of it. Ladders are used to mount to this ledge; they are then drawn up, and the rooms are entered either by openings in the roof leading to the ground-floor, or by doors giving entrance from the ledge to the second suite of rooms; the latter alone are used for sleeping. Store-rooms occupy the ground-floor.

In 1858 there was a Baptist minister at Laguna; and in one of his reports to the Indian department of the Secretary of the Interior he stated that the amount of real christianity amongst the Indians is very small; they cling to the religion of their forefathers, and can only be induced to attend the service of the Roman Catholic Church by threats, promises, and even blows, whereas they perform their own religious duties with the utmost regularity. He also joined in the universal eulogium on the honesty and sobriety of the men, and the virtue of the women.

Acoma, some twenty miles west of Laguna, is a large and very interesting pueblo. It rests on the summit of a flat mesa, whose perpendicular cliffs rise to a height of from 300 to 400 feet above the valley. The houses here are three stories high, built on the usual principle, each successive story being smaller than that on which it rests. Ladders are also used to reach the ledges. The flat top of the mesa includes about fifty acres of land; it is reached by a steep winding path cut in the rock, and

so placed as to be easily defended. It is a very wealthy pueblo; the Indians own abundance of cattle, and grow large quantities of corn, peaches, pumpkins, and other produce.

The houses of San Domingo, Sandia, and others, although only built of one story, have no doors or windows on the outside, but are entered by ladders from the roof.

The ancient pueblo of Toas consists of one compact fortress, formed of terraces seven stories high, and built on a rock overlooking the stream. So strong was it as a place of defence, that in 1847, when the Mexicans of the village of Toas could no longer defend themselves against the Americans, they betook themselves to the Indian pueblo a few miles distant, and there sustained a protracted siege, yielding at last only when provisions had utterly failed. This pueblo, moreover, was never taken by the Spaniards, although it was many times attacked.

Venegas, Coronado, and, in fact, all the early Spanish explorers and writers upon New Mexico describe numerous seven-storied fortresses now no more, and give many instances of the great bravery shown by the Indians in their defence. Those I have mentioned, however, with the exception of Zufi and the seven Moqui pueblos, are the only native fortresses which now remain inhabited.

The most interesting of all the pueblos is undoubtedly Zufi. [The enlarged views of the building which were exhibited, copied from a photograph, gave a good idea of its general appearance.] It is built on a rising ground, affording an extensive view of the surrounding country; and six terraces at least can be counted one above the other. Ladders planted against the wall give access to the different terraces upon which the doors of the apartments open.

In the valley through which the Zufi River (a tributary of the Colorado Chiquito) flows are to be seen orchards (chiefly of peach-trees), vineyards, fine corn-plots, and vegetable-gardens producing onions, beans, melons, chili colorado (red pepper), pumpkins, &c. Formerly cotton was cultivated, probably by Indians further south; but now they obtain what stuffs they require from the Mexicans in exchange for farm produce. They do not raise their crops by irrigation, but depend entirely upon the rainfall; hence all their traditions relate more or less to the production of water.

Not far from the town is a sacred spring, about 8 feet in diameter, walled round with stones, of which neither cattle nor man may drink. The animals sacred to water (frogs, tortoises, and snakes) alone must enter the pool. Once a year the cacique and his attendants perform certain religious rites at the spring: it is thoroughly cleared out; water-pots are brought as an offering

to the spirit of Montezuma, and are placed bottom upwards on the top of the wall of stones. Many of these have been removed; but some still remain, while the ground around is strewn with fragments of vases which have crumbled into decay from age.

Not far from the present pueblo is a lofty mesa, which rises about 1000 feet perpendicularly from the plain; upon this are many ruins of houses and a sacred altar, constituting all that remains of old Zufii.

The following tradition is related about this place:—Long before the first appearance of the white man, a dreadful flood visited the land. Waters gushed forth from the earth, and huge waves rolled in from the west, drowning man and beast; even the wild Apaches and Coyotes did not escape. Then many of the people of Zufii rushed to the lofty mesa, but many more perished in the waters. Night came, and yet the waters rose higher and higher, until they reached the water-mark still distinctly visible high up on the cliff wall. The great Spirit was very wroth with his people, and must be appeased by a fitting sacrifice. So the son of the cacique and the most beautiful maiden in the tribe were bound and lowered down into the seething flood; then the waves abated, and the remnant of the people were saved. The young man and the maiden were transformed into two lofty pillars of stone, which rise from a natural battlement on one part of the summit. Time has worn these two pillars into four. They are still greatly venerated by the people of Zufii.

After building a town on the lofty mesa, they lived there for many years; but as it was far removed from their fertile bottom-lands, and as no second flood visited their country, they returned to their present abode. When the Spaniards, however, made war against them, they fled for a second time to their ancient stronghold, and, according to their own account, made a fierce resistance, by fortifying the only two approaches by which the summit could be gained, and by hurling huge stones upon their assailants; the enemy, however, was victorious.

Spanish influence was never strong enough at Zufii to convert the natives to Christianity: they tolerated the presence of a church outside the walls of the pueblo (now a ruin); but they still cling devotedly to their old traditions, and attribute their temporal prosperity, and the comparative immunity of their country from drought, to the steadfast observance of their ancient ceremonies. They believe in the one great Spirit, and in Montezuma his son, who will some day come again to them from the east, and unite all the nations once more under his banner.

Our party found the people of Zufii to be very honest, but uncommonly sharp traders—so much so that they had the greatest

y in buying any sheep from them, although they had an abundance; they parted with their maize and farm much more readily, but they understood the value of things so thoroughly that they always insisted on receiving *pro quo*. They seemed to take great pleasure in keeping geese and turkeys. Albinos are unusually common amongst those whose complexions are as fair as those of Europeans. The other branches of the Pueblo Indians, the women of whom are very chaste, and plurality of wives is not allowed.

They are situated to the north-east of the San Francisco Peaks, about twenty miles from the Colorado Chiquito, on the opposite side of the mountains, are grouped, within a radius of ten miles, the pueblos of Moqui. The country is arid and uninviting, broken, and partly formed of steep mesas, partly of volcanic peaks. Upon the very edge of some of these mesas the houses are planted. They are mostly of three stories, built in the shape of a square, with a court, common to the whole community, forming the centre. The first story, or basement, is formed of a stone wall 15 feet high, the top of which forms a terrace extending round the whole. A flight of stone steps leads from the first to the second landing, and thence up to the third. The doors open upon the landing. The houses are three stories deep, the first being used for eating, cooking, &c., the second for sleeping-apartments. Great neatness is observable in the household arrangements and personal habits of the people.

They sit upon skins on the floor, clothe themselves in trousers, shirts, and a Navajo blanket thrown across their shoulders. Upon the walls hang bows, arrows, quivers, blankets, articles of clothing, &c.; vases, flat dishes, and other articles filled with meal or water, stand usually along one side of the room. In complexion they are rather fair for Indians; in their manners they are very light-hearted: their frankness, and hospitality are amongst their good qualities, but they want the manly bearing of the Zuni Indians, and until lately, lived in great fear of their warlike neighbours, the Apaches.

The most interesting features about their villages are the cisterns which they build to retain the rain-water. At the back of each building, upon the mesa itself, a good-sized reservoir, some 5 feet or upwards in depth and lined throughout with masonry, is usually to be found; a little lower down is a second cistern, with a pipe leading to it from the former. This reservoir is for the animals, the upper one for the people, and the lower for household use. On each side of the tanks, the sloping sides of the mesa are formed into terraces neatly paved with masonry, and rounded by a raised edge, so as to retain the water.

brought to them through pipes from the reservoirs. Peach-trees grow upon the terraces; and most of their crops are raised in this way by carefully husbanding the rainfall and using it for irrigation. Many flocks are owned by them; and most of the sheep are black.

Mr. Leroux, who was the first American to visit them (1850), estimated the united population of the seven villages at 6700, the largest containing 2400 inhabitants. Since then, however, small-pox has committed terrible ravages amongst them; and they have also suffered for several seasons from great deficiency of rainfall, so much so that they have been strongly advised to migrate to some more hospitable region. Within the last six years, however, the rains have been more abundant, and, by the latest reports from that out-of-the-way region, they seem to be in a very flourishing condition. Mr. Ward, however, after a careful inspection of the different communities, places the present population at only 2500 souls.

The next group of semicivilized Indians (the Pimas of the Rio Gila) differ from those I have already named, in that they inhabit huts instead of houses. In all other respects they are very similar.

After the Rio Gila has emerged from the succession of deep gorges through which it crosses the Pina-leño Cordilleras, it waters a rich and fertile valley forty or fifty miles long, between the mountains and the Gila desert. About twenty miles of this valley is occupied by these people. They devote themselves entirely to agriculture and to the arts of peace; but they are brave in war, and maintain a complete military organization for protection against the incursions of their wild neighbours the Apaches. I have often heard it said by western men that there are only two spots in New Mexico and Arizona where you can be certain of absolute safety; the one is in the pueblo of Zúñi, the other amongst the Pimas on the Rio Gila. Both these peaceful tribes have been most useful allies of the United States' troops in their expeditions against the Navajos and Apaches; it has, indeed, been only through the assistance of the Pima warriors that any success has ever been gained against the latter sons of plunder.

The valley varies in width from two to four miles; and grouped up and down the stream, usually on ground a little above the level of the low-lying bottom-lands, are seen the cone-shaped huts which compose the villages. The huts are easily built, as they only consist of a framework of willow poles stuck in the ground, and arched over to meet in the centre; these are interlaced with others at right angles, and then covered with wheat-straw, neatly pinned down all round the sides, which may or

may not be daubed over with mud, and nicely thatched at the top.

Were we to judge only from their dwellings, we should place these people very low down in the list of Indian tribes; but when we examine the means which they adopt for raising their crops, when we see with what labour and skill they have divided off their lands into little patches of about 200 feet square, and have dug many miles of irrigating canals, each set radiating from the main artery, or "acequia madra," to supply every patch, then when we look at the pottery, the beautiful basket-work, the stores of farm-produce carefully packed away in well-made store-huts, when we see specimens of native weaving, and, perhaps more than all, when we look at the soft intelligent faces of these Indians, we recognize directly the same people, to all intents and purposes, as we met in the Rio Grande valley.

The most complete list of the population I have been able to discover is that of Mr. G. Bailey, Indian agent for the Pimas and Maricopas, dated 1858. It is as follows:—

PIMAS.

Name of village.	Warriors.	Women and children.	Total.
Buen Llano	132	259	391
Ormejera, No. 1	140	503	643
" No. 2	37	175	212
Casa Blanca	110	425	535
Chemisez	102	210	312
El Juez Farado	105	158	263
Arizo del Agua	235	535	770
Aranca	291	700	991
Total	1152	2965	4117

MARICOPAS.

Name of village.	Warriors.	Women and children.	Total.
El Juez Farado	116	198	314
Sacaton	76	128	204
Total	192	326	518

The productions are chiefly maize, wheat, beans, melons, pumpkins, onions, chili colorado (red pepper), &c.; they own a small quantity of stock, horned cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, mules, and poultry. They rely, however, for support mainly upon agricultural produce, milk, and eggs; and their production is

so much in excess of their requirements, that they dispose annually of more than a million bushels of grain to the government agents, at from four to six cents a pound, which, in our money, is nearly twopence. They formerly cultivated cotton, but now they find it far easier to buy the few cloth goods they require than to weave them.

Major Emory, of the United States regular army, was, I believe the first American to visit these people, in 1846, when, as Lieutenant Emory, he took charge of a military reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth (Kansas) to San Diego, on the Pacific. He thus describes the scene:—"We had no sooner encamped, eight or nine miles from the Pima villages, than we met a Maricopa Indian looking for his cattle. The frank, confident manner in which he approached us was a strange contrast to that of the suspicious Apaches. Some six or eight of the Pimas came up soon after at full speed, to ascertain who we were and what we wanted. They told us that the first trail we had seen along the river was that of their people, sent to watch the movements of their enemies the Apaches. Their joy was unaffected at seeing that we were Americans, and not Apaches; and word to that effect was immediately sent back to the chief. Although the nearest villages were nine miles distant, our camp, in three hours, was filled with Pimas loaded with corn, beans, honey, and water-melons, so that a brisk trade was opened at once. Their mode of approach was perfectly frank and unsuspicious; many would leave their packs in our camp and be absent for hours, theft seeming to be unknown to them. On reaching the villages we were at once impressed with the beauty, order, and disposition of the arrangements for irrigating and draining the land. Maize, wheat, and cotton are the crops raised by this peaceful and intelligent race of people; all had just been gathered in, and the stubbles showed that they had been luxurious. The cotton was picked and stacked for drying on the tops of the sheds. The fields are subdivided by ridges of earth into rectangles of about 200 by 100 feet, for the convenience of irrigating. The fences are of sticks, wattled with willow and mezquit, and, in this particular, are an example of economy in agriculture worthy to be followed by the Mexicans, who never use fences at all.

"In front of each dome-shaped hut is usually a large arbour, on the top of which is piled the cotton in the pod for drying. To us it was a rare sight to be thrown in the midst of a large tribe of what are termed wild Indians, surpassing many of the Christian nations in agriculture, little behind them in useful arts, and immeasurably before them in honesty and virtue. During the whole of yesterday our camp was full of men, women,

lren, who sauntered amongst our packs unwatched ; and a single instance of theft was reported.

With a woman seated on the ground under the shade of one cotton-shed ; her left leg was tucked under her seat, and turned sole upwards ; between her big toe and the next spindle about 18 inches long, with a single fly of 4 or 5.

Ever and anon she gave it a twist in a dexterous and at its end was drawn a coarse cotton thread. This is her spinning-jenny. Led on by this primitive display, I saw their loom, by pointing to the thread and then to the girt about the woman's loins. A fellow stretched in, sunning himself, rose up leisurely, and untied a bundle he had supposed to be a bow and arrows. This little loom, with four stakes placed in the ground, was the loom. He opened his cloth, and commenced the process of weaving."

The alternate thread of the warp is passed round a piece of stick, when lifted, opens a passage for the shuttle in the form of a sley. The operator sits like a tailor, and, raising with one hand, shoots the shuttle through with the other. The work is beaten up after the passage of each thread by the use of a sharp-toothed instrument made of hard wood.

This operation is, of course, most tedious ; and it is not surprising that even the very limited trade at present existing between the Indians and the outer world should have caused its neglect, as well as that of the cultivation of cotton.

Pottery manufactured by the Pimas varies in colour from dark brown ; the articles made are limited to those which are utterly necessary for domestic purposes. They consist of vases, of every size, the largest containing about two gallons, the smallest half a pint, jars with small apertures resembling bottles, and basins of different sizes and shapes, from a saucer to a saucer. All are more or less ornamented, and decorated with black lines arranged in geometrical figures.

Basket-work is the most meritorious of all their native handicrafts, although the baskets are made only of willow twigs or reeds, so closely are they plaited that liquids are placed in them with a matter of course, and seldom a drop escapes through the sides. A wicker rim is always fastened at the bottom, by which the larger baskets can be carried on the head like the smaller ones can stand securely on the floor. Baskets of all sizes, and, together with the pottery, form the articles of exchange between this people and other tribes, the Indians being about the best customers of all.

The only native weapons are bows and arrows ; but they adopt all modern appliances, either in the shape of fire-arms or implements of agriculture. The United States Govern-

ment has, through its agents, supplied to them a considerable quantity of the latter during the last few years, by which means the annual produce of their farms has been greatly increased. As the ground is soft and friable, hoes, spades, and shovels are more in vogue than ploughs; and when any part of the valley shows signs of exhaustion, they give it rest, repair the old acequias which had previously been abandoned, and thus bring a reinvigorated patch of waste land again under cultivation.

Altogether, I may safely say that the present state of this industrious people is very satisfactory. Want is unknown amongst them; they are happy and contented; they are of great assistance to the colonists as well as to the government; for they help to confine the Apaches to their mountain retreats, and they supply the emigrants and troops with large quantities of corn. By the table of population already given, it will be seen that the women and children form a very fair proportion of the population; as for the latter, my friend Colton tells me that the whole valley swarms with them, and that these little monkeys are as full of fun as they can be. All this is encouraging, and leads us to hope that this people may escape the general destruction which, in North America especially, has fallen upon the aboriginal tribes with the advance of the Anglo-Saxon race. To attain so desirable a consummation two things are absolutely necessary:—

First, that the government should make their lands by law inalienable.

Second, that the high standard of morality, which has ever been remarkable amongst the Pimas and their neighbours, the Pueblo Indians, should not be broken down by any close intercourse with white men and their fire-water.

A word or two now about the Papagos. The Papago country is large in extent, but for the most part a complete desert. It comprises all the country south of the Rio Gila, which lies between the head of the Gulf of California and that extensive cordillera of which the Sierra Catarina forms the most westerly range, and extends for some fifty to a hundred miles into Sonora. All over this tract, wherever there happens to be a stream, a spring, or a little marsh among the barren rock hills which thrust their peaks above the parched and friable ground, or any spot favourable for tank irrigation, there you are very likely to find a little colony of Papagos, living, if at home, in huts similar in all respects to those of the Pimas. I have been through their desolate country, and visited many of their villages, and I feel convinced that the hard struggle they have always had with nature to support life in such a region has

done much to develop the energy and manliness of character peculiar to the tribe. As a race, they are the finest specimens of man, *physically*, I have ever seen. On one occasion I met five of them at a ranch, and not one of the party measured less than 6 feet 2 inches. If they were not so very dark in complexion, their features would be pleasing; for they have the steady, intelligent eye and straightforward manners of their more northern brethren the Pimas.

The most interesting point in connexion with them, however, is their mode of life. Like the Yaqui Indians of Southern Sonora, they very willingly leave their homes at certain seasons to gain a livelihood elsewhere. They own flocks and herds in considerable quantities, and they keep large droves of horses, or rather ponies. It is probable that a number of their villages, especially those supplied only by artificial tanks, are uninhabitable from want of water for a great part of the year, so that they are obliged to migrate to support themselves and their stock during the droughts. Be that as it may, they have become the greatest traders and the most industrious people to be found in the country. When the time for leaving their little patches of cultivated ground around the villages has arrived, some pack their merchandise, consisting chiefly of baskets and pottery similar to those made by the Pimas, on their ponies, and go down to Sonora to trade with the Mexicans, driving their stock with them to pasture in the comparatively fertile valleys to the southward. Others travel immense distances over the great Sonora Desert to the Gulf of California, and particularly to some salt-lakes about a hundred miles west of Altar, where they lay in a stock of salt and sea-shells, and then return to trade with the Indians on the Colorado, or the Pimas on the Gila, or to sell the salt to the Mexicans on the eastern side of their country. Others, who have no merchandise to sell or ponies to trade with, go to the settlements and ranches from Tucson southward, and willingly hire themselves out as field-labourers or miners. They work well for the Americans, and receive usually a dollar a day, which is certainly not bad wages. Then, when the time for planting comes round, they all return again to their own homes in the desert.

The Pimas resisted sternly all attempts made by the Jesuits or Franciscans to convert them, and are now so diffident on religious subjects that they will not discuss them, or give any information respecting their belief. The Papagos, however, probably from the close intercourse which they have so long kept up with the Mexicans, are, to all appearance, most devout Roman Catholics. A description of, I may say, the cathedral of the tribe will be found in my coming work. It is the last

relic of the Papago mission of San Xavier del Bac, and is situated on the Rio de Santa Cruz.

Intercourse with the Mexicans has also much modified their mode of dress; for the men usually wear wide straw sombreros of home manufacture, moccasins, buckskin gaiters, a breech-cloth of cotton, and a snow-white cotton blanket thrown gracefully across the chest. The women wear petticoats; and neither sex seems to affect ornaments or paint. The number of villages scattered throughout the land of the Papagos is about nineteen; and the population of the entire tribe probably reaches 4000, of which 3000 live north of the Mexican boundary line, and perhaps 1000 south of it. So effectually do the warriors protect their homes that the Apaches never have the courage to penetrate far into their country, although they have quite depopulated the Mexican settlements bordering it on the east.

In nature, the productive and the destructive elements are everywhere found side by side; and not only is this true as an abstract principle of actual existence, but there is not a creature without natural enemies who prey upon it and live by its destruction. Civilized man, however, although he lives by the destruction of life, animal as well as vegetable, takes care to reproduce by artificial means as much, if not more, than he destroys; but the savage does not always do so; and when he does not, this is surely a proof that he is *not* destined by Providence permanently to exist.

Most conspicuous amongst the latter class are the Navajos and Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona—the hereditary enemies of the cultivator of the soil, whether he be Aztec, Mexican, or Anglo-Saxon—the savages, by whose means the whole country has been nearly swept of its inhabitants, and changed from a fertile garden into a barren waste.

The Navajos, until lately, occupied a fine tract of country watered by the Colorado Chiquito, the Rio San Juan, and their tributaries, and the western branch of the Rio Grande. They were bounded on the north by the Ute nation, on the south by the Apaches, on the west by the Moqui and Zufi pueblos, and on the east by the inhabitants of the Rio Grande valley. Although often placed under the head of Apaches, they are in every respect a different and a finer race. They are bold and defiant, with full lustrous eyes and a sharp, intelligent expression of countenance; they had fixed abodes in their country, around which they raised crops almost rivalling those of the Pimas on the Gila: they carried one art (the weaving of blankets) to a state of perfection which, in closeness of texture and arrangement of colour, is scarcely excelled even by the laboured and costly seraphes

of Mexico and South America. I tried at Santa Fé to purchase some; but the prices were so enormous, averaging from seventy to one hundred dollars for choice specimens, that I refrained.

For love of plunder and rapine, these Indians have no equals. Their number, twenty years ago, was probably about twelve thousand; and while they left their wives and old men to plant, reap, attend to the stock, and make blankets, the braves spent their lives in traversing the whole country, carrying off the stock of the helpless Mexican farmers, and keeping the entire agricultural and mining population in a constant state of alarm. To give a slight idea of the depredations of these hordes, I may state that between August 1st, 1846, and October 1st, 1850, there were stolen by them, according to the report of the United States' Marshals, no less than 12,887 mules, 7,050 horses, 31,581 horned cattle, and 453,293 head of sheep. The official reports from New Mexico appeared to contain nothing but catalogues of depredations committed by the Navajos, or of similar deeds done by the Apaches; and not only was the valley of the Rio Grande swept over and over again of its stock, but the Pueblo Indians of Zúñi, and many other native towns, barely escaped destruction, and this, too, since the annexation. How many perished previously, who can tell?

Governor Charles Bent thus spoke of them in 1846:—"The Navajos are an industrious, intelligent, and warlike race of Indians, who cultivate the soil, and raise sufficient grain and fruits of various kinds for their own consumption. They are the owners of large herds, and flocks of cattle, sheep, horses, mules, and asses. It is estimated that the tribe possesses thirty thousand head of horses, mules, and asses. It is not rare for one individual to possess from five to ten thousand sheep, and four or five hundred head of other stock. Their own horses and sheep are said to be greatly superior to those reared by the Mexicans; but a large portion of their stock has been acquired by marauding-expeditions against the settlements of this territory. They roam over the country, between the waters of the river San Juan on the north, and those of the Gila on the south. This country is about 150 miles wide, consisting of high table mountains, difficult of access, affording them as yet effectual protection against their enemies. Water is scarce, and difficult to be found by those not acquainted with the country, affording them another natural safeguard against invasion. Their numbers are variously estimated at from one to two thousand families, or about fourteen thousand souls. The Navajos, so far as I am informed, are the only nation on the continent that, having intercourse with white men, is increasing in numbers. They have in their possession many prisoners (men, women,

and children) taken from the settlements of this territory, whom they hold and treat as slaves.”

Such was their condition in 1846; since then their history has been one long series of misfortunes. As far back as any information can be obtained about them, they have been at war with the Mexicans and white men, the system of reprisals being systematically carried out on both sides. The Mexicans of one settlement would collect together, and make a raid on a marauding band of Navajos, capturing all they could, not only in stock, but in women and children. The Indians would retaliate, not caring particularly whether it was the aggressors or some peaceful neighbours they attacked in return. This being the state of affairs, we find, even as early as the autumn of the first year of possession, that General Kearney (United States army), gave orders to Colonel A. W. Doniphan, then in California, to march against the Navajos—and to Governor Bent, advising him that “full permission should be given to the citizens of New Mexico to march in independent companies against these Indians, *for the purpose of making reprisals*, and for the recovery of property and prisoners.”

From this time until 1863 war has been unceasing with this hardy tribe. Their hand has been against every one, and every one's hand has been against them; even the Pueblos left their villages and joined the whites against them; and as they had actual property in corn-fields, flocks, and herds, they could not, like their wild neighbours, the Apaches, who lived by the chase and marauding only, altogether escape from the hands of the military. It was cruel work, however necessary.

I have spoken to many who helped to *humble* the Navajos. As soon as harvest time approached, the soldiers would enter their country year after year: they say that the corn-fields were splendid; but they cut them all down, and fired the district wherever they went, driving off sheep, sometimes to the number of seventy thousand in a single raid, and oxen also by thousands. When there were no crops to destroy, and no apparent enemy to be found, or flocks to drive off, the military would encamp at the different springs, and try by this means to destroy the remnant of their stock: but in this, for a long time, they were unsuccessful; for the Navajo sheep, probably from force of habit, could thrive if only watered once every third or fourth day; and thus it happened that when the troops had guarded a spring long enough, as they supposed, to prove that no Indians or flocks were in that district, and had left to go to another, the Navajos, who were quietly grazing their cattle in the secluded nooks amongst the hills hard by, came down to the spring and refreshed themselves with perfect impunity.

Year after year they boldly held out; and plunder became to them a necessity of existence, for they had no other means of support. At last, however, this never-ceasing hostility reduced the whole tribe to utter destitution; nor did they give up until they were literally starving. In 1863 the first large section of them (I believe about five thousand in number) delivered themselves up to the government. They were removed from their own country, and placed upon a large reservation on the Rio Pecos; and old Fort Sumner, which had been abandoned, was re-established in the centre of the reservation, for the purpose of carrying out the design of the government towards them. Since then nearly all the remains of the tribe have delivered themselves up, and, to the number of about seven thousand five hundred, have been placed on the reservation. Mr. Ward is of opinion that a very small fraction indeed of this once powerful tribe is now at large in the country north of the Rio Colorado, and in Utah Territory; but since, for years before they gave in, the advantage had been on the side of the settlers against the Navajos, he assures me that there are at the present time not less than two thousand captives in the hands of the Mexicans, who profess to bring them up, and to take care of them as members of their families and households.

As regards the present condition of the Indians on the Bosque reservation, I cannot do better than give a short quotation from the report of Colonel A. B. Norton (Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico) for the year 1866:—"At Fort Sumner this tribe has about two thousand five hundred acres of land under cultivation, mostly in Indian corn, with an admirable system of irrigation. The water, however, is very poor in quality, and wood so scarce that it has to be hauled from twenty-five to thirty miles to the post, while the mezquit root, the only wood used by them for fuel, must soon give out. Add to this that the Comanches make constant raids upon them, to within a few miles of the fort, and, as they are very little able to protect themselves, this adds still more to their discontent. Of the state of health and morals of these Navajos, the hospital reports give a woful account. The tale is not half told, because they have such an aversion to the hospital that but few of those taken sick will ever go there, and so they are fast diminishing in numbers; while the births are many, the deaths are more. Discontent fills every breast of this brave and light-hearted tribe; and a piteous cry comes from all as they think of their own far-off lands, 'Carry me back, carry me back!'" They have had a severe lesson and a terrible punishment; but when a railway traverses the country, they may with perfect safety be allowed to return to their own land, now

parched and desolate, but still so yearned for by these unhappy prisoners.

Without further investigation, I cannot hazard an opinion as to whether the Navajos are a branch of the town-builders or the true North-American redskins. They say themselves that they are related to the former; and their arts as well as their faces would, I think, rather tend to lead us to the same conclusion. Those figured at page 241 look far more like Southern than Northern Indians; and the woodcut is a good copy of a photograph.

While the Navajos spread terror and desolation through the north and east of New Mexico, the Apaches followed the same system of plunder in the southern part of the state and throughout Arizona and Northern Sonora, with this great difference—that amongst the former booty was their only object, and they spared life unless resistance was offered, but with the latter war to the death was, and still is, their undeviating practice. In battle the Navajo never stoops to scalp his fallen enemy, and many acts of true generosity are related of him; but the cowardly Apache creeps upon his victim like a snake in the grass: if he can capture him he invariably tortures him to death; but otherwise he scalps and mutilates him in the most horrible manner, and has never been known to show the smallest trace either of humanity or good faith.

Several independent though kindred tribes are rightly classed under the term Apaches; the following table gives their names, the localities in which they are usually encountered, and the probable population of each:—

Names.	Districts.	Populations.
Jicarrilla Apaches.	Maxwell's reservation and Toas district	500
Mescalero „	Mountain south of Fort Stanton	525
MOGOLLON TRIBES, COMPRISING THE		
Miembres Apaches.	Miembres Mountains	400
Coyotero „	Sierra Blanca of Arizona	700
Pinal „	Pina-leño Cordillera	2000
Tonto „	Between the Rio Salinas and Verde	800
Chi-ri-ca-hui „	Chi-ri-ca-hui Mountains	500

The first of these tribes is now quite harmless; and as its members are too few and cowardly to hold their own against the other tribes, they willingly submit to being fed and taken care of at the expense of the government. The second tribe was formerly a very warlike one, and it is chiefly owing to its ravages that the fertile valley of the Rio Grande, from San Antonio, north of Fort Craig, to La Mesilla, a distance of over one hundred miles, is now an uninhabited waste. War, disease, and

scarcity of food have of late years so thinned their ranks that the government succeeded a short time ago in collecting them together and placing them on the Bosque reservation with the Navajos. As these tribes were sworn enemies, they did not long live together; for on the night of November 3, 1866, the Apaches deserted, and have since that time been committing depredations on the government stock, and murdering and plundering the settlers so far north as Los Vegas and Galistro. We heard much of their ravages while passing through that district.



All the Mogollon bands are still at large. They mostly inhabit the vast region formed of lofty tablelands and mountain-ranges in which the headwaters of the Rio Gila rise; and from these fastnesses, still unexplored, they have for ages been making raids upon their more civilized neighbours on all sides of them*.

[* Some of the depredations of the Miembres Apaches, under their chief, Mangos Colorados, were given in detail, but need not be recapitulated here.—Ed.]

A very characteristic tragedy was perpetrated at Fort Bowie while I was there, by Cachees's band of Chi-ri-ca-hui Apaches.

It is only necessary here to say a few words about the remaining subtribes—the Coyotereros, Pinals, and Tontos. Very little is known about themselves, far too much about their ravages. Their numbers are variously estimated; but the general belief is that they are not numerous. They occupy the centre of the Apache country, and the few attempts as yet made to "clear them out" have resulted in complete failure. The commander at Camp Grant told me that two years ago he made a raid into their country, but before he had gone many miles he found that his enemies were gathering around him in such numbers that his small force of fifty soldiers had to beat a rapid retreat. One of our parties had a terrible fight with the Tonto Apaches in Northern Arizona.

The favourite field for plunder during the last century has been Northern Sonora. The Apaches seem never to have lived there; but their custom was to descend in bands along the whole length of the Pina-leño and Chi-ri-ca-hui Mountains, which, so to speak, form a bridge 200 miles long across the Madre plateau from the mountains north of the Rio Gila to the Sierra Madre of Mexico.

The Spaniards protected their outlying provinces from these hordes by a complete system of military posts from San Antonio, in Texas, to the Pacific. These were:—along the Rio Grande, the Presidio de Rio Grande, San Carlos, Presidio del Norte, and San Eleazario; across the state of Chihuahua, Carrizal, Cayome, Galeana, and Janos; and across Northern Sonora followed, in close succession, the Presidios of Babispe, Fronteras, Bacuachi, Santa Cruz, and Tubac, reaching to the outskirts of Papago country and the Sonora desert. Thus the Spanish miners and rancheros were protected, and the country south of these limits became rich in flocks, herds, and productive mines, while the population increased with great rapidity. But as the power of Spain declined, and the central government at the city of Mexico degenerated into a chaos of contending factions, the troops which garrisoned these frontier stations were gradually withdrawn, the grand military system, which had so effectually done its work, was allowed to fall into decay, and most of the presidios were relinquished altogether.

The Apaches were not long in discovering the weakness of their wealthy neighbours, and year by year their raids became more numerous, and their ravages more destructive. At first the stock of the outlying rancheros fell a prey to the enemy; and although probably but a small proportion of the vast herds which formerly occupied the rich grazing-regions of North-

eastern Sonora and Northern Chihuahua were really carried off by the red men, the rancheros had to fly for their lives, and leave their cattle to their fate. This accounts for the herds of wild cattle and horses which are still to be found in those districts. Then the miners began to be molested, their stock, chiefly mules, driven off, and they themselves so terrified that they could not be induced to remain. When the country districts were cleared, the little towns next formed the chief object for attack. The Apaches would lie concealed for days, until an opportune moment had arrived for capturing the cattle and plundering the place. The people at last became so terrified that, if they heard of a band of Apaches fifty miles off, they very frequently left everything and fled. Against such an enemy they were almost powerless; for the mountain-fastnesses from which he came lay far away to the north, and anything approaching an open fight was always avoided by him.

This state of things, in fine, going on year after year, has entirely depopulated that country. Its ruin was almost complete before the treaty of 1854 had finally settled the question of boundary-line between Mexico and the United States; but one of the chief stipulations of the treaty was that the latter government should keep the Apaches in their own country, and prevent them from making any more raids into Mexican territory. Although this was promised, it could not be accomplished; for the United States military have, up to the present time, been almost powerless in their attempts either to "wipe out" or to restrain these marauding hordes. They have, as we shall see in many of the incidents to be related, neither protected their own subjects on their own soil, nor sheltered the helpless Mexicans across the border.

But the Apaches do not lay waste Northern Sonora as they formerly did, chiefly because there is now nothing to plunder; all is desolation. Destiny, however, seems to be doing what the government has failed to do; it is destroying the Apache nation. Although very few are yearly killed in fight, and the white man has not as yet penetrated into the heart of their country, still they are dying out fast; already the total population, as far as it can be estimated, is so small as to appear at first to be beneath our notice; but the scalp of many a brave settler will yet be taken before these blood-thirsty savages are crushed.

In the region lying between the Rio Verde, which is about the limit of the Apache country and the Rio Colorado, two tribes, few in number, and of the lowest type of humanity, are met with. These are the Walapais (Hualpais) and the Yampas. The latter chiefly inhabit little strips of marshy land at the

bottom of the deep cañons, which debouch upon the Colorado Cañon. Both tribes were encountered by our parties about the 35th parallel; they are comparatively harmless, and much resemble the Pai-utes of the Great Basin. The valleys of the Colorado, from the end of the Black Cañon almost to the head of the gulf, are inhabited by Indian tribes who occupy an intermediate position between the semicivilized Pueblo Indians and the wild Apache races. They have for some time kept peace with the whites; but contact with them appears to be rapidly hastening their extinction.



Mojave Indians.

As there is no special interest attaching to these savages I will leave the accompanying woodcut, copied from a photograph taken at Fort Mojave, to speak for itself. The Mojaves are the largest tribe, and once numbered ten thousand.

I must now say a few words about the ruins which are to be found scattered throughout New Mexico, Arizona, and Northern Mexico. There is scarcely a valley in the Rio Grande basin in which the stone or adobe foundations of villages are not to be found; there is scarcely a spring, a laguna, or a marsh upon the

plateau which is not overlooked by some ruined fortress. Usually these relics crest a commanding eminence, not always in close proximity either to the fertile land which supported the community, or even to the spring which supplies them with water. If a stream runs near them, the remains of acequias (or irrigating canals) are generally to be found. There are many places, however, where cultivation had been successfully carried on without them, the rainfall alone being relied upon; while some ruins show signs of reservoirs and terraces similar to those still in use amongst the Moquis.

The ruins may be classed under three heads:—

1st. Ruins of many-storied Indian strongholds.

2nd. Ruins of buildings evidently constructed under Spanish rule.

3rd. Ruins the foundations of which alone remain.

East of the Rio Grande there are at least four ruined towns of the first order deserving of special notice; these are the ruins of Pecos, Quarra, Gran Quivera, and Abo; all, however, contain ruins of Spanish as well as Indian origin. The early Spaniards tell us that Pecos was a fortified town of several stories. It was built upon the summit of a mesa which juts out into the valley of the stream of the same name, and overlooked the lowlands for many miles in both directions. The only conspicuous buildings amongst the ruins are the Spanish church and the Mexican temple. For probably a century the two religions flourished side by side; the incense ascended from the altar of the one, and the fire of Montezuma burned day and night in the estufa of the other. The church is a cruciform adobe structure, the greater part of the walls of which are still standing. Montezuma's church, the ruins of which are almost continuous with those of its rival, is much more decayed; it shows signs of having been at least three stories in height; and in the centre the large circular estufa is quite perfect.

The pueblo was called by the early Spaniards "Tiguex," and was the chief town of a district called by the same name. According to Indian tradition, it was built by Montezuma himself on his way southward from Toas; he placed his sacred fire in the estufa, and warned his people that death would come upon them if they allowed it to go out. Before leaving them he took a tall tree and planted it in an inverted position, saying that when he should disappear a foreign race would rule over his people, and there would be no rain. "They were not to lose heart, however, under the foreign yoke, nor to let the fire burn out in the estufa; for when the time came in which the tree should fall, men with pale faces would pour into the land from the east and overthrow their oppressors, and he himself would return to build up his

kingdom ; the earth would again become fertile and the mountains yield abundance of silver and gold. Then Montezuma departed and travelled southward, spreading pueblos far and wide, until he reached the city of Mexico, where he lived until the enemy, in the form of the Spaniards, arrived, when he disappeared." The Pueblo Indians say that Montezuma's prophecy has been literally fulfilled. Soon after Montezuma returned to the Great Spirit, the enemy, in the form of Spaniards, came, conquered, and enslaved them. Although they could not shake off the oppressors, still they kept the holy fire burning, and tried to dwell in peace with all men*. The Spaniards added many buildings to the town, and lived there amongst them until about the middle of the last century, when the wild Indians of the mountains attacked and desolated Pecos, driving away and murdering its inhabitants. Nevertheless, amidst the havoc and plunder of the place, a faithful few amongst the Indians managed to keep the fire burning in the estufa, until at last the deliverers with "pale faces poured in from the east," and the tree at Pecos fell to the ground as the American army entered Santa Fé. Then the little remnant of the tribe, which in 1808 only numbered 135 souls, left the ruined fortress and brought the sacred fire with them to the pueblo of Jemez, to which place their companions had migrated years before. Here they were kindly received by the Indians of that pueblo, who helped them to build acequias and houses, and to sow and gather in their crops ; droughts no longer desolate the land, but year after year copious showers still bring wealth and happiness to the chosen people of the Great Prince.

I passed Pecos on my way to Santa Fé. Mr. Eicholtz's party saw the ruins of Quarra and Abo, on their journey through Abo Pass, and left the Gran Quivera a few miles to the eastward ; for these three pueblos lie within a radius of ten miles.

The ruins of Quarra consist, like those of Pecos, of a church, a large Aztec building, which was probably several stories high, although now a heap of stones and rubbish, and numerous foundations of smaller houses, probably of Spanish or Mexican origin. The church is built of red sandstone, in the form of a cross ; the length of nave and chancel is one hundred and forty feet, that of the transept is fifty ; the widths respectively are thirty-three to eighteen feet ; the walls are about two feet thick and sixty feet high.

At Abo there is also a ruined church, cruciform in shape, the

* "A Mr. Vaughan, who lived near Pecos, at Tagique, for twenty years before the Americans entered the country, told Lieutenant Abbot that he had seen the sacred fire."—*Senate document*, No. 41, Appendix vi.

arms being respectively 27 and 129 feet; it is built of small, beautifully cut stones, placed together with the utmost nicety. Other extensive ruins are scattered around it.

At Gran Quivera there are extensive ruins of Spanish buildings, having upon them the arms of different families; but there are other ruins undoubtedly of Indian origin, which fully carry out the statement of the historian Venegas and others, that this ancient pueblo was a large fortress, consisting of seven terraces, rising in steps one from the other. The remains of large acequias are to be seen in the vicinity both of Gran Quivera and Quarra. So much for the ruins of the Rio Grande basin.

There are not, to my knowledge, any ruined pueblos as far north as the main valley of the Rio San Juan; but there are several upon the two most southern tributaries, the Rio de Chelly and the Cañon de Chaco. The most remarkable are the pueblos Pintado, Una Vida, Wegegi, Hungo Pavie, and Bonito, all on the latter stream. Besides these there are five others in a more ruined state. The Pueblo Pintado has three stories, its whole elevation being about 30 feet. The walls are built of small flat slabs of grey fine-grained sandstone, two inches and a half thick, and are put together with much art and ingenuity by means of a kind of mortar made without lime. At a distance they have the appearance of mosaic work. The thickness of the outer wall of the first story is one yard at the base, diminishing at each successive story, until the top wall scarcely exceeds one foot. There are, as usual, no external openings in the ground-floor. The length of the edifice is 390 feet; the ground-floor contains fifty-three rooms, which open into each other by means of very small doors, in many instances only thirty-three inches square. The floors are made of rough beams, over which transverse cross beams are laid, and above all is a coating of bark and brushwood covered over with mortar. The wood appears to have been cut with some blunt instrument.

The ruins of Wegegi are similar to those of Pintado, being 690 feet in length, and having ninety-nine rooms on the ground-floor. The Pueblo Una Vida is no less than 984 feet long, and the Pueblo Bonito is still more extensive. The estufa of the latter is very large, and in a fair state of preservation. It is 180 feet in circumference; and the walls are regularly formed of alternate layers of small and large stones, held together with mortar.

Another pueblo, Chethó Kette, measures 1300 feet in circumference, and was originally four stories high. It has the remains of one hundred and twenty-four rooms on the first story. The most perfect of the ten ruined pueblos discovered by Lieutenant Simpson in the Cañon de Chaco is that of Hungo Pavie (or the

Crooked Nose). Its circumference, including the enclosed court, is 872 feet. It faces, as usual, the cardinal points, and contains one estufa, placed in the centre of the northern wing of the building.

The accompanying engravings are taken from Simpson's 'Navajo Expedition,' and show at a glance the form of these structures. The terraces of Hungo Pavie are here represented as facing the central court. This may have been the plan adopted in many pueblos, but not in all. At Zuñi, for instance, the terraces face outwards and rise in steps towards the centre; and while the ruins in the Cañon de Chaco seem to show that there the outermost wall was the highest, many ruins elsewhere prove that the opposite was often the case. Thus two forms were probably in use: the one rose from without in steps towards the centre of the building; the other faced the courtyard, and was encircled by its highest wall.

One or more estufas have been discovered in each pueblo. Some are rectangular, others circular. There are similar ruins in the Valle de Chelly. The Navajo Indians, in whose country these pueblos are situated, say, I am told, that they were built by Montezuma and his people at the time of their emigration from north to south, and shortly before their dispersion on the banks of the Rio Grande and over other parts of Mexico.

The country occupying the fork between the Great Colorado and the Colorado Chiquito forms a part of that vast tableland the Colorado plateau, through which both these streams pass in deep cañons.

The land is deeply eroded, being cut up into lofty mesas of variable size, and is very arid and worthless. The seven Moqui villages crest the edges of some of the mesas which form the south-eastern escarpment of the Colorado plateau. Further to the north-west, and nearer the Colorado, there is another group of pueblos in ruins, larger than those of the Moqui Indians, but situated, like them, on the flat summits of mesas, containing estufas, reservoirs, terraces, aqueducts, and walls at least four stories high. No trace has as yet been found of their former inhabitants.

Next we come to the ruins on the Colorado Chiquito and its southern tributaries. There are ruins upon El Moro, ruins north of Zuñi, Old Zuñi, and others along the Zuñi River; ruins, also, on the Rio Puerco of the west, amongst which our parties found abundance of pottery; and there are most extensive ruins in the main valley, both above the falls and between the falls and the entrance of the cañon of the Chiquito, scattered along a fertile basin at least a hundred miles in length. At Pueblo

Creek the remains of several fortified pueblos were found crowning the heights which command Aztec Pass ; but west of this point (longitude 113° west) no other ruins have as yet been discovered.

Leaving the basin of the Colorado Chiquito, we pass southward to that of the Rio Gila, where the most extensive ruins of all are to be found. Some fine streams enter this river on the north, draining a country very little known, but of great interest, and containing many fertile valleys. The chief of these tributaries are the Rios Preto, Bonito, San Carlos, Salinas, and Rio Verde (which latter two unite before joining the Gila, twelve miles from the Pima villages), and, lastly, the Agua Fia. The great New Mexican guide, Leroux, started northward from the Pima villages in May 1854, crossed over to the junction of the Salinas with the Rio Verde (also called Rio de San Francisco), ascended the latter stream, and crossed from it to the 35th-parallel route along the Colorado Chiquito. He represents the Rio Verde as a fine large stream, in some places rapid and deep, in others spreading out into wide lagoons. The ascent was by gradual steppes, stretching out on either side into plains which abounded in timber—pine, oak, ash, walnut, sycamore, and cotton-wood. The river-banks were covered with ruins of stone houses and regular fortifications, which were evidently the work of a very civilized race, but did not appear to have been inhabited for centuries. They were built upon the most fertile tracts of the valley, where were signs of acequias and of cultivation. The walls were of solid masonry, of rectangular form, some twenty or thirty paces in length, and from ten to fifteen feet in height. They were usually of two stories, with small apertures or loop-holes for defence when besieged, and reminded him strongly of the Moqui pueblos. The large stones of which these structures were built must often have been transported from a great distance. At one place he encountered a well-built fortified town, ten miles distant from the nearest water.

Other travellers and prospectors report many ruined pueblos along the Salinas, others on the San Carlos, and several very extensive ones in the fertile Tonto basin, which is drained by a tributary of the Salinas. Of many of the ruins on the Gila itself, and in the valleys of its southern tributaries, I can speak from personal knowledge. A little west of the northern extremity of the Burro Mountains, the Rio Gila leaves the Santa Rita and other ranges, and meanders for a distance of from seventy to one hundred miles through an open valley of considerable width. This long strip of fertile bottom-land is studded throughout with deserted pueblos, which at the present time belong almost entirely to the third class, viz. those of which the foundations

alone mark the localities. It is impossible to travel more than a mile or two along the margin of the lowlands without encountering them ; and one of our guides, who knew the ground well, told me that at least 100,000 people must at one time have occupied this valley. The ruins follow the river quite to the mouth of the first cañon by which the Gila cuts through the Pina-leño Mountains.

In the cañada of the Aravaypa, on the western side of this range, I examined the ruins of two pueblos, one being a fortification covering the top of a steep hill which guarded the entrance to the Aravaypa cañon. All along the San Pedro valley, through which Mr. Runk's party travelled for 160 miles, ruined pueblos were frequently met with. Amongst them the remains of pottery, such as is in general use amongst the town Indians and Mexicans, were picked up in great abundance. Remains of acequias also were very numerous. Between Camp Grant, where I left my party to enter Old Mexico and the Pima villages, the mesas bordering on the Gila are pretty thickly studded with ruins ; but further west than the confluence of the Rio Verde no more traces of pueblos are to be found.

Two good-sized ruins are situated near the Pima villages ; one is known as Casa Montezuma, the other as Casa Grande. Casa Montezuma, also called Casa Blanca, consists of the remains of four large houses, one of which is tolerably perfect as a ruin. Around it are piles of earth showing where others had been ; and although ten miles distant from the river, all the intervening space is intersected by acequias, and was no doubt once under cultivation. The chief ruin is four stories high, and forty feet by fifty wide ; the walls face the cardinal points and have four estufas four feet by two in size. The rafters inside were almost entirely destroyed by fire ; but, as far as could be seen, they had been very roughly hewn. The walls consisted of brick, mortar, and pebbles, smoothed without and plastered within. The arrangements of the rooms, the presence of doors, and the absence of terraces would lead one not to attribute this building to Aztec origin. The Pimas, however, account for it thus :—Long ago a woman of exquisite beauty ruled over the valleys and the region south of them. Many suitors came from far to woo her, and brought presents innumerable of corn, skins, and cattle to lay at her feet. Her virtue and determination to continue unmarried remained alike unshaken ; and her store of worldly possessions so greatly increased that, when drought and desolation came upon her land, she fed her people out of her great abundance and did not miss it, there was so much left. One night, as she lay asleep, her garment was blown from off her breast, and a dew-drop from the Great Spirit fell upon her bosom, entered her

and caused her to conceive. In time, she bore a son, who was one other than Montezuma, and who built the large casas and the other ruins which are scattered through the land. Instructing his people in the arts of civilization he departed for the south and then disappeared.

A Grande is situated a little below the junction of the Rio Grande and the Salinas. It is a rectangular ruin, 220 feet by 68, the sides face the cardinal points. The highest walls are, as is to be found in the centre of the pile, and they appear to have been three or four stories high.

On the sides abundance of broken pottery, we found sea-shells (many pierced and otherwise converted into ornaments) about the ruins which skirt the Gila and neighbouring streams, showing that these people must have had some intercourse with tribes living along the coast. These shells may have been brought by the natives inhabiting the Lower Colorado across the Sonora Desert, in exchange for food, clothing, and other Pima manufactures; I think it most probable that the kindred race, the Papagos, were the chief venders of shells; for they are great traders, and their commerce extends over all Northern Sonora, from the Gulf of California to the Sierra Madre, and even now supply the scanty population of this region with sea-salt obtained from some salt-lakes near the coast.

The Pimas themselves state positively that at one time they were a great and powerful nation, living in houses similar to those found on the Gila; but after the destruction of their kingdom they travelled southward, and settled in the valley where they now dwell; fearing lest they should again become an object of envy to a future enemy, they were content ever afterwards to live in huts.

Lastly, I would mention one more cluster of ruins, which, though they lie south of the boundary-line of the United States, belong without doubt to the same class as those I have been considering; these are the Casas Grandes and Casa de Janos, situated on the Rio Casas Grandes, which flows northward into the Laguna de Guzman in north-western Chihuahua. The former, according to the historian Clavegero, is similar in every respect to the ruined fortresses of New Mexico, consisting of three floors, with a terrace above them, and without any entrance to the ground-floor. The doors led into the buildings on the second floor, so that scaling-ladders were necessary. A canal, says Dr. Wislizenus, conveyed water from a spring to this place. A watch-tower, probably Casa Janos, stands two leagues to the north-west of it, commanding a wide extent of country; and along the stream are many mounds in which have been found earthen vessels, painted white, blue, and violet, also weapons of stone,

but none of iron. The following particulars are from Bartlett's personal narrative :—"The ruins of Casas Grandes face the cardinal points, and consist of fallen and erect walls, the latter varying in height from five to thirty feet, projecting above the heaps of ruins which have crumbled to decay. Were the height estimated from the foundations, it would be much greater, particularly of those of the centre part of the building, where the fallen walls and rubbish form a mound twenty feet above the ground; if, therefore, the highest walls now standing have their foundations on the lowest level, their probable height was from forty to fifty feet. I conclude that the outer portions of the building were the lowest, about one story high, while the central ones, judging from the height of the walls now standing, and the accumulation of rubbish, were probably from three to six stories. Every portion of the building is made of adobe, which differs from that now made by the Mexicans in that the blocks are very much larger, being fourteen or sixteen inches long, twelve inches wide, and three or four thick; the others are usually twenty-two inches in thickness, and three feet or more in length. Gravel was mixed with these large adobes, which greatly increased their hardness, but no straw was used. The building consists of three masses, united by walls, of probably but one story, forming perhaps only court-yards; they are now weather-beaten down to long lines of mounds.

"The entire edifice extends from north to south 800 feet, and from east to west 250. The general character is very similar to Casas Grandes near the Pima villages and the ruins on the Salinas. Not a fragment of wood remains; many doorways are to be seen, but the lintels have gone, and the top has in most cases crumbled away and fallen in.

"Some of the apartments arranged along the main walls are twenty feet by ten, and connected by doorways, with a small enclosure or pen in one corner, between three and four feet high. Besides these there are many other exceedingly narrow apartments, too contracted for dwelling-places or sleeping-rooms, with connecting doorways, and into which the light was admitted by circular apertures in the upper part of the wall. There are also large halls; and some enclosures within the walls are so extensive that they could never have been covered with a roof. The lesser ranges of buildings which surrounded the principal one may have been occupied by the people at large, whose property was deposited within the great building for safe keeping. Although there appears to be less order in the *tout ensemble* of this great collection of buildings than in those further north, the number of small apartments, the several stages or stories, the inner courts, and some of the minor details resemble in many

the large edifices of the semicivilized Indians of New

builders showed much sagacity in their choice of so fine a site for agricultural purposes. There is none equal to it in the lowlands of Texas, near San Antonio, to the fertile plains of California, near Los Angeles; and, with the exception of Rio Grande, there is not one valley equal in size to that of Casas Grandes, between those of Eastern Texas and the do of the west. The water of the Rio Casas Grandes, that of the Rio Grande, Pecos, and Colorado, is clear, and sparkling. Not more than one hundred yards distant is another ruin, about fifteen feet square. Garcia Conde says that these edifices were known to have had three stories and with steps outside, probably of wood. He also repeats the story of the Aztec emigration, and states that this was the third stopping-place of that people on their way from the north to the Gulf of Mexico.

I met with no Indian ruins in Sonora, nor have I heard of any other similar ones either there or in Chihuahua.

Let us now try to discover, from the writings of a few of the best Spanish explorers, what kind of people they found on the discovery of the country. I think I have said enough about the small remnant of civilized Indians still remaining, and about their natural enemies the wild and untamable savages, to show what a striking difference exists between them. I have probably given a longer catalogue of ruins than the patience of any reader has been able to bear; the question, however, of the greatest interest still remains to be answered, viz., Who were the builders of these ruins, and why have they disappeared? The early Spaniards throw considerable light upon this question; I think, after hearing what they have to say, we may draw our own conclusion for ourselves. I have neither had time nor opportunity to make researches amongst the long-forgotten archives of Spain or Mexico; but Lieutenant A. W. Whipple has discovered, in Colonel Peter Force's extensive library at Washington, some very interesting matter; a little more material has been added from other sources; and I collected many additional facts at Santa Fé during my fortnight's visit there. I may also say that the second, third, and fourth letters of Fernando Cortes to the Emperor Charles V. were translated in America by George Mason (New York, 1843, 8vo), and that the fifth letter has just appeared in the 'Journal of the Hakluyt Society,' by Don Pascual de Gayangos (1868). The first letter has not been translated, because its authenticity is still doubted.

Early in the spring of 1526 (ninety-four years before the

landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, and thirty-four years after the shores of St. Salvador delighted the eyes of Columbus) Don Joseph de Basconzales crossed the centre of Arizona towards the Great Cañon and penetrated at least as far as Zuñi. No record remains of this, the first expedition into that country, but the bare record of the fact carved on the side of "El Moro;" for none of the expedition ever returned to tell of their adventures. They either perished by the hands of the Indians, or met a still more miserable end amongst the labyrinths of chasms still further north, across which nought living but the birds can successfully pass.

Those who remember the wonderful achievements of Cortez in Mexico may call to mind one Pamphilo Narvaez, who in 1520 was despatched by Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, with a detachment to arrest Cortez in the midst of his victories, and to deprive him of authority. Cortez was then in the city of Mexico, beset with many and appalling difficulties. Nevertheless he marched at once with a few trusted comrades towards the coast, attacked Narvaez with one furious onslaught, overcame him, and took his whole detachment prisoners. "Esteem it great good fortune," said Narvaez, "that you have taken me captive." Cortez disdainfully replied, "It is the least of the things that I have done in Mexico." This was the Narvaez who afterwards obtained from Charles V. the right to make extensive conquests and explorations north of the Gulf of Mexico.

In the winter of 1527-28 he fitted out an expedition, consisting of four hundred men, eighty horses, and five ships, left San Domingo, and, after a prosperous voyage, reached the coast of Florida about the middle of April. There, while carrying on explorations in the interior, he was deserted by his squadron, and obliged to put out to sea in five rude boats made by his famished soldiers. His usual bad fortune, however, followed him; he was wrecked on one of the islands at the mouth of the Mississippi, and perished with all his companions save three: these were Cabeza de Vaca (treasurer and second in command), Esteva Dorantes (an Arabian negro), and Castillo Madonado. Vaca was a man of letters, and of great strength of character, and boldly determined at all hazards to advance into the unknown regions before him, and strike, if possible, the Pacific coast. He was taken prisoner, however, by the wild Indians of Southern Texas, and remained a captive for six years. After that time the three adventurers made their escape; and after travelling for twenty months in a north-westerly direction, amongst hostile tribes and over arid deserts, they struck the Canadian River. This they followed in a westerly direction, and passed over the dividing ridges into the valley of the Rio Grande. After wan-

from pueblo to pueblo, they at last made their way, in month of May 1538, to the village of San Miguel, in Sonora, ly sixty leagues from the Pacific coast, and finally reached y of Mexico. Vaca returned next year to Spain, and laid the King a thrilling narrative of his adventures. His option of the large towns with lofty houses containing many s, which he had heard of in the Rio Grande valley, of the civi- Indians who cultivated maize and adorned themselves with us stones, and of the mineral wealth which he had dis- ed soon led to the organization of a fresh expedition.

the 7th March 1539, Friar Marco de Niça started from own of San Miguel, in the province of Culiacan (Sinaloa), s journey northward, according to instructions received from Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain. His companion Friar Honoratus; and he carried with him a negro named en, and certain Indians of the town of Cuchillo, whom the roy had made free. He proceeded to Petatlan, where he d three days, and left his companion, Honoratus, sick. ce, "following as the Holy Ghost did lead," he travelled ty-five or thirty leagues, seeing nothing worthy of notice, g certain Indians from "the Island of Saint Iago," where ando Cortez of the valley had been. From these he learned among the islands were "great stores of pearls"*. Con- ng through a desert of four days' journey, accompanied by Indians of the islands and of the mountains through which assed, he found other Indians, who marvelled to see him, ng no knowledge of any Christians, or even of the Indians whom they were separated by the desert. They entertained kindly, and called him "Hayota," in their language signi- g a man come from heaven†. He was told by these people, m Vasquez Coronado had named Coraçonos, that four or five s' journey within the country, at the foot of the mountains, ere was a large and mighty plain, wherein were many great as, and people clad in cotton." And when he showed them ain minerals which he carried, "they took the mineral of l," and told him "that thereof were vessels among the people hat plain, and that they carried certain round green stones ging at their nostrils and at their ears, and that they had

These were probably Yaqui Indians, who still visit the Pearl-Islands g the opposite shore (Lower California) in order to carry on their occu- on of diving for pearls. They are great travellers, and would therefore be able guides.

These were Opita Indians, occupying the valley either of the Rio Sonora ts main tributary the Rio de San Miguel. They received me as hos- bly as they did Father Marco, and are the best-looking Indians I have : seen.

certain thin plates of gold wherewith they scrape off their sweat, and that the walls of their temples are covered therewith." But as this valley (previously called a plain) was distant from the sea-coast, he deferred the "discovery thereof" until his return*.

Marco de Niça travelled three days through towns inhabited by the people of the Coraçones, and then came to a "town of reasonable bigness" †, called Vacupa, forty leagues distant from the sea. The people of Vacupa, he states, showed him "great courtesies," and gave him "great store of good victuals, because the soil is very fruitful and may be watered." Here the negro Stephen was sent in advance to reconnoitre. At the end of four days Father Marco received a message from Stephen, stating that wonderful accounts had been told him of a great city, called Cevola, thirty days' journey distant. The negro pushed on without waiting as he was ordered, and succeeded in making the discovery of that people, who finally killed him.

Upon the same day that Niça received these messages from Stephen, there came to him three Indians of those whom he called Pintados, because he saw their faces, breasts, and arms painted. "These dwell further up into the country, towards the east, and some of them border upon the seven cities" ‡. With these Pintados he departed from Vacupa upon Easter Tuesday; and having travelled three days northward, the way that Stephen had gone before him, he was informed that a man might travel in thirty days to the city of Cevola, which is the first of the seven. He was told also that, besides the seven cities, there were three other kingdoms, called Marata, Acus, and Totontecac. He asked of these Indians why they travelled to Cevola, so far from their houses. They said that they went for turquoises, ox-hides, and other things, which they received in payment for labour in tilling the ground §. They described the dress of the inhabitants of Cevola to be "a gown of cotton down to the foot, with a button at the neck, and a long string hanging down at the same, and that the sleeves of these gowns are as broad beneath as above" ||. They gird themselves with girdles of turquoises ¶; and besides

* These "great towns" were probably situated in the Casas Grandes valley (a description of some of the ruins of which has been given), and, no doubt, were famous cities amongst the Indian tribes.

† "Magdalena, on the Rio de San Miguel."—*Whipple*.

‡ Without doubt these were Papagos.

§ A strong proof that they were Papagos, and not Pimas or any other tribe.

|| "This description is simply that of a Pima cotton blanket, thrown over the shoulders and pinned by a wooden button at the neck. The natural folds of this garment would produce 'sleeves as broad beneath as above.'"—*Whipple*.

¶ Probably Pima or Zuñi belts, ornamented with green stones.

"some wear good apparel, others hides of kine*, very dressed." The Pintados carried certain sick folks to see him, he might heal them, and the invalids sought to touch his hands for that purpose.

He continued his journey five days, always finding inhabited places, great hospitality, and many "turquoises" and ox-hides. He then understood that after two days' journey he would find a place where there was no food. Before he reached this desert, he arrived at a very pleasant town, by reason of great stores of provisions conveyed thither to water the same †. Here he met with the people, both men and women, clothed in cotton, and some adorned with ox-hides, "which generally they take for better apparel than that of cotton" ‡. "All the people of this village," he said, "go in *caconados*—that is to say, with turquoises hanging from their nostril and ears, which turquoises they call *cacona*" §. He met the "lord of this village" and others visited him "apparelled in cotton," "in *caconados*," and each with a collar of turquoises around his neck. They gave him conies, quails, maize, and nuts from the trees, and offered turquoises, dressed ox-hides, and fair wine to drink in, which he declined. They informed him that Montezuma was a great quantity of woollen cloth, such as he himself wore, made from the fleeces of wild beasts. These beasts told him were about the same size as two spaniels which men carried with him.

The next day he entered the desert; and when he was to dine, he found bowers made and victuals in abundance by a river-side ||.

The Indians provided for him during four days that the "darkness" continued. He then entered a valley ¶, very well peopled with people, who were dressed also in cotton robes, turquoises pendent from their ears and nostrils, and numismatics of the same encircling their necks.

Through this valley, which was inhabited by a "goodly people," he travelled five days' journey **. The country was "well watered

buckskin or buffalo robes.

This was probably St. Xavier del Bac, situated in a rich and fertile valley, watered by acequias from the Santa Cruz River.

If allowed for "ox-hides" to read *buckskin*, the account will apply to the Pimas and Pinos of the present day.

It is usual for all the principal Indian chiefs of the Gila and Colorado, as well as those of Zuñi, to wear blue stones pendent from the nose.

This "river in the desert" is probably the stream which at times flows through the Cañada del Oro, receiving all the western drainage of the Santa Ana Mountains, and, like the Rio Santa Cruz, becomes lost in the desert. This was the valley of the Rio Gila.

"He must have crossed over the Salinas (Rio Azul) and ascended that

It is surprising that he makes no mention of large buildings or ruins on its banks."—*Whipple*.

and like a garden," "abounding in victuals," "sufficient to feed about three thousand horsemen." The boroughs and towns were from a quarter to half a league long. Here he found a man born in Cevola (Zuñi), having escaped from the governor or lieutenant of the same; "for the lord of the seven cities liveth and abideth in one of these towns called Ahacus [Acoma], and in the rest he appointeth lieutenants under him." "This townsman of Cevola is a *white man**, of good complexion, somewhat well in years, and of far greater capacity than the inhabitants of this valley, or those left behind." Friar Marco thus describes Cevola *from report*:—"It is a great city, inhabited by a great store of people, and having many streets and market-places; in some parts of this city there are certain very great houses, five stories high, wherein the chief of the city assemble themselves at certain days of the year. The houses are of lime and stone; the gates and small pillars of the principal houses are of turquoises; and all the vessels wherein they are served and other ornaments of their houses are of gold. The other six cities are built like unto this, whereof some are bigger, and Ahacus is the chiefest of them. At the south-east there is a kingdom called Marata†, where there were wont to be many great cities, which were all builded of houses of stone, with divers lofts. And these have and do wage war with the lord of the seven cities, through which war the kingdom of Marata is for the most part wasted, although it yet continueth and maintaineth war against the other.

"Likewise the kingdom of Totontec‡ lieth towards the west—a very mighty province, replenished with infinite store of people and riches; and in the said kingdom they wear woollen cloth, made of the fleece of those beasts previously described; and they are a very civil people." He told also of another kingdom, called Acus§. Here they showed him a hide half as big again as the hide of an ox, which they said belonged to a beast

* "It is remarkable that at the present day many of the Indians of Zuñi are white. They have a fair skin, blue eyes, chestnut or auburn hair, and are quite good-looking. They claim to be full-blooded Zuñians, and have no traditions of intermarriages with any foreign race. The circumstance creates no surprise among this people; for from time immemorial a similar class of persons has existed in the tribe."—*Whipple*.

† I believe this to have been in the upper valley of the Rio Gila, where so many ruins still remain.

‡ Totontec is doubtless the country lying upon the waters of the Rio Verde and Pueblo Creek. Civilization and the arts must have made considerable progress there; but the valleys are now quite deserted.

§ The position of the kingdom of Acus is not mentioned. It may have been upon the Colorado Chiquito, or in the Cañon de Chaco; at both places there are ancient ruins, already described.

one horn. The colour of the skin was like that of a goat, the hair was a finger thick.

His inhabitants requested him to stay here three or four days, and from this place they were "four days' journey into the desert, and from the first entrance into the same desert unto the city of Cevola are fifteen great days' journey more." Accompanied by thirty of the principal Indians, with others to carry provisions, he entered this second desert on the 9th of May. He travelled the first day by a very broad and beaten way, and at dinner unto a water, and at night unto another water, and the Indians provided him with a cottage and victuals. In this manner he travelled twelve days' journey. At that point met one of Stephen's Indians, who, "in great fright and covered with sweat," informed him that the people of Cevola had just imprisoned, and afterwards killed the negro.

After Marco himself then became fearful of trusting his life in the hands of that people. But he told his companions that he proposed to see the city of Cevola, whatever came of it." So he ascended a mountain and viewed the city. He describes it as situated upon the plain at the foot of a round hill*, and it is shown to be a fair city, and is better seated" than any he has seen in these parts. The houses "were built in a square" according as the Indians had told him, "all made of adobe, with divers stories and flat roofs. The people† are somewhat white; they wear apparel, and lie on beds; their weapons are bows; they have emeralds and other jewels, although they esteem none so much as turquoises, wherewith they adorn the pillars of the porches of their houses, and their apparel and vessels; they use them instead of money through all the country. Their apparel is of cotton and of ox-hides, and this is their most commendable and honourable apparel." They use vessels of gold and silver, for these metals are found in greater abundance here than in Peru. They buy the same for turquoises in the province of Pintados‡, where there are said to be mines of great abundance. Of other kingdoms he says he could not obtain such particular information. When he told the Indian chiefs that he was with him what a goodly city Cevola seemed, they answered him that it was the least of the seven cities, and that Totontecac was the greatest and best of them all, because it had so many

This description answers quite well to Zuñi at the present day. See Whipple, *l. c.* page 164.

* "The following he would not have seen, but probably states on the authority of his informers."—Whipple.

† In the mountains around Tucson many gold- and silver-mines have been discovered, proving that there must have been some foundation for this statement.

houses and people that there was no end to them. Having set up a cross and made a heap of stones, he named that country *El Nuevo Regno de San Francisco*. Then, "with more fear than victuals," he returned. In two days he overtook the people he had left behind, crossed the desert, hurried from the valley, and passed the second desert. Having arrived at the valley of the Gila, he determined to visit the great plain he had been informed of towards the east; but, for fear of the Indians, did not go into it. At its entrance he saw "but seven towns" of a reasonable size, which were afar off, in a low valley *, being very green, and having a most fruitful soil, out of which ran many rivers.

Fired by the high-coloured reports brought back by Father Marco, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, already famed as a great soldier and explorer, determined himself to start for Cevola. His expedition was composed of the flower of the Spanish chivalry, and as he marched northward through Sonora by land, Fernando Alarçon, with two ships, was sent up the coast to render assistance should occasion require. It was not known at that time (1540) that Lower California was united to the mainland, so that Alarçon soon found his progress stopped at the head of the Gulf of California. He ascended the Rio Colorado for eighty-five leagues, and, not encountering Coronado, returned by water to New Mexico.

Soon after Coronado had started, one Melchior Diaz set out after him, with twenty-five men. He, however, by directing his course to the westward, also discovered the Colorado, and returned to Mexico by sea, bringing back the first announcement that Lower California was not an island. He described the Indians along the Rio Colorado as being a very tall race, almost naked—the men carrying banners, and bows and arrows, the women wearing feathers and an apron of deerskin; their noses were pierced; ornaments hung from their ears; and the warriors smeared themselves with bright-coloured paint.

Nearly at the same time Coronado, having penetrated with his party to Zuñi, despatched one of his officers, Garci Lopez de Cardenas, with a detachment of men to the Moqui villages; and this party made a third discovery of the Rio Colorado, many hundred miles above its mouth. After travelling for twenty days through a broken volcanic country, where they experienced great scarcity of water, they suddenly came upon a deep cleft in the earth's surface which barred all further progress. Lopez describes it as being deeper than the side of the highest mountain,

* These pueblos have already been referred to; he probably passed the Pina-leño Cordilleras to the eastward, and looked down upon a part of the upper valley of the Gila.

while the surging torrent below seemed not more than a fathom wide. Two men tried to descend; but after with difficulty climbing down a third of the way, they were stopped by a rock, which, although from above it did not appear larger than a man, was, in reality, higher than the tower of the cathedral at Seville. "In no other part of the continent had they seen so deep a gulf hollowed out by a river for its course." Thus the discovery of the Great Cañon of the Colorado dates back to the year 1540.

Coronado's trip to Cevola does not seem to have been quite as prosperous at first as that of Father Marco. He met with great hardships, and lost many of his horses and men before reaching the Rio Gila, and, after resting there two days, seems to have had great difficulty in making his way through the Mogollon Mountains. "But," he continues, "after we had passed thirty leagues of the most wicked way, we found fresh rivers and grass, like that of Castile, and many nut-trees (Pinon pines), whose leaf differs from those of Spain; and there was flax, but chiefly near the banks of a certain river, which therefore we called El Rio del Lino" (Colorado Chiquito)*. Here he was met by some people of Cevola, who first appeared friendly, but afterwards attacked his army very valiantly. At last he arrived at the walls of Zuñi, and sent messengers thither; but they were ill-treated and fired at, upon which, after an attack and skirmish without the walls, he boldly assaulted the city, and, after considerable resistance, took it by storm. The Indians fought with bows and arrows, and threw stones upon them from the walls; Coronado himself was twice unhorsed, but his Spanish armour saved him. Plenty of corn was found in the town, of which they were greatly in need, several persons having starved on the way. "It remaineth now to testify," writes Coronado, "of the seven cities, and of the kingdoms and provinces whereof the Father provincial (Father Marco) made report to your lordship; and, to be brief, I can assure your honour he said the truth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, saving only the names of the cities and the *great houses of stone, whereof there are about two hundred encompassed with walls; and I think that, with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, there may be together five hundred.*" In other words the conqueror found neither silver, gold, nor precious stones; but he gives a very accurate description of the appearance, dress, and mode of living of the people, which does not differ in any particular from that of the present day. "The seven cities are seven small towns, all made with this kind of [many-storied] houses that I speak of; they stand all within four leagues together, and are called

* Still called Flax River.

collectively the kingdom of Cevola." . . . "They eat the best cakes I ever saw; and they have the finest order and way of grinding, so that one Indian woman of this country will grind as much as four women of Mexico." . . . "That which these Indians worship, as far as we hitherto can learn, is the water; for they say it causeth their corn to grow and maintaineth their life." As regards the answers they gave him about other cities, Coronado says that he thinks they do not tell him the truth. They said that they killed the negro Stephen because "he touched their women."

After leaving Zuñi, Vasquez de Coronado travelled eastward into the Rio Grande valley and discovered, or rather re-discovered, the pueblos built upon that stream. Amongst these were Acuco (Acoma), "a town upon an exceeding strong hill," Tiguex (Pecos), Quivera, Axa, and Cicuyé, four leagues from which they met with a new kind of oxen (buffalo), wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourscore, which sufficed the army for flesh. "All the way was as full of crooked-backed oxen as the mountain sierras in Spain are of sheep." Nowhere did they find gold, silver, or precious gems; and in the end of March 1542, Vasquez Coronado, after receiving a severe fall from his horse while tilting at Tiguex, returned in disgust with his army to Mexico. "It grieved Don Antonio de Mendoza very much that the army returned home; for he had spent about threescore thousand pesos of gold, and owed a great part thereof still."

The Abbé Domenec states that as early as the year 1542 the Spaniards had gained possession of no less than seventy-four towns, distributed amongst fourteen provinces*, of which Tiguex formed the centre and Cevola probably the furthest westward. These provinces, therefore, do not include any of the communities celebrated in those days, such as Totontecac, Moqui, Acus, Marata, &c., which occupied regions far removed from the Rio Grande.

On the 10th of November 1582, another expedition, headed by a citizen of Mexico, called Antonio de Espejo, left the valley of San Bartolo (160 leagues from the city of Mexico) to explore the Rio del Norte and to discover the fate of two friars, Lopez and Ruyz, who were reported to have been murdered there.

Directing his course northward, he met with great numbers of Conchos (Papagos) who dwelt in villages or hamlets covered

* The provinces were:—Cevola, containing 7 towns; Tucayan, 7; Acuco, 7; Tiguex, 12; Cutahaco, 8; Quivera, 7; Sierra Blanca, 7; Ximena, 3; Cicuyé, 1; Hemes, 7; Oji Caliente, 3; Yuque-Yunque, 3; Braba, 1; Chia, 1: in all 74.

with straw. These Indians went nearly naked, cultivated maize, pumpkins, and melons, and were armed with bows and arrows. They worshipped neither idols nor aught else. The caciques sent information of the expedition from one town to another, and the party was well treated. They passed through the Pasaguates, the Zoboses, and the Jumanes, who were called by the Spaniards Patarabueges. "Their villages are upon the Rio del Norte; their houses are flat-roofed, and built of mortar and stone." These people were well clothed, and seemed to have some knowledge of the Catholic faith. Ascending the great river, they discovered another province of Indians, who showed them many curious things made of feathers, with divers colours, and many cotton mantles striped blue and white, like those brought from China. These people showed by signs that five days' journey westward there were precious metals.

Journeying thence northward along the Rio del Norte they were well received amongst a numerous population. Here they were told, by a Concho Indian who accompanied them, that fifteen days' journey towards the west could be found a broad lake, and great towns with houses three and four stories high*. They noted especially the excellent temperature of the climate, good soil, and abundance of precious metals.

From this province they travelled fifteen days without meeting any one, passing through woods of pine trees bearing fruit like those of Castile.

Having thus travelled eighty leagues, they arrived at villages where there was much excellent white salt. Ascending the valley of the aforesaid great river twelve leagues further, they arrived at the country which they called New Mexico. Here, all along the shore of the river, grew mighty woods of poplar (cotton-wood), in some places four leagues broad, and great store of walnut-trees and vines, like those of Castile. Having travelled two days through these woods, they arrived at ten towns situated upon both sides of the river, where were about ten thousand persons. Here were houses four stories in height with "stoves for the winter season." They had "plenty of victuals and hens of the country." "Their garments were of cotton and deer-skins; and the attire, both of men and women, was after the manner of the Indians of Mexico." "Both men and women wore shoes and boots, with good soles of leather—a thing never seen in any other part of the Indies." "There are caciques who govern the people, like the caciques of Mexico, with sergeants to execute their commands. In all their arable

* Probably the Laguna de Guzman and the pueblos on the river which feeds it.

grounds, whereof they have great plenty, they erect on the one side a little cottage, or shed, standing upon four poles, under which the labourers eat and pass away the heat of the day; for they are a people much given to labour." "This country is full of mountains and forests of pine trees." "Their weapons are strong bows, and arrows pointed with flints." "They use also targets or shields made of raw hides."

After remaining four days in this province, not far off they came to another called the province of Tiguas (Tiguex), containing sixteen towns, in one of which the two friars, Lopez and Ruyz, had been slain. Hence the inhabitants fled. The Spaniards, entering the town, found plenty of food, hens, and rich metals. Here they heard of many rich towns far towards the east. Two days' journey from the province of Tiguas they found another province containing eleven towns and about forty thousand persons. The country was fertile, and bordered on Cevola, where was abundance of kine. Here were signs of "very rich mines." Having returned to Tiguex, they ascended the Rio del Norte six leagues to another province called Los Quieres. Here they found five towns, and fourteen thousand persons who worshipped idols. Among the curious things seen at this place were a pig in a cage, and "canopies like those brought from China," upon which were painted the sun, moon, and stars. The height of the pole-star led them to believe themselves in north latitude $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

Pursuing the same northerly course, fourteen leagues thence they found another province, called the Cumanes (or Punames), with five towns, of which Cia (Zia) was greatest, having twenty thousand persons, eight market-places, and houses plastered and painted in divers colours. The inhabitants presented them with mantles curiously wrought, and showed rich metals, and mountains near which were the mines. Having travelled six leagues north-west, they came to Ameies, "where are seven great towns and thirty thousand souls." One of the towns was said to be very great and fair; but as it stood behind a mountain, they feared to approach it. Fifteen leagues west they found a great town, called Acoma, containing about six thousand persons, and situated upon a high rock, which was above fifty paces high, having no entrance except by stairs hewed into the rock. The water of this town was kept in cisterns. Their corn-fields, two leagues distant, were watered from a small river, upon the banks of which were roses. Many mountains in this vicinity showed signs of metals; but they went not to see them.

Twenty-four leagues westward from Acoma they arrived at Zuñi, by the Spaniards called Cibola, containing great numbers of Indians. Here were three Christian Indians, left by Coro-

1540. They informed Espejo that "threescore days' from this place there was a mighty lake, upon the banks stood many great and good towns, and that the ins of the same had plenty of gold, as shown by their golden bracelets and ear-rings." They said that Corol intended to go there, but having travelled twelve days' he began to want water, and returned. Espejo, desir-seeing this rich country, departed from Cibola, and travelled twenty-eight leagues west, found another great *, of about fifty thousand souls. As they approached a led Zaguato, the multitude, with their caciques, met h great joy, and poured maize upon the ground for the walk upon, and they presented the captain with forty mantles of cotton, white and coloured, and many hard th tassels at the four corners, and rich metals which o contain much silver. Thence travelling due west leagues, they found mines, of which they had been in-nd took out with their own hands rich metals containing e mines, which were on a broad vein, were in a moun-ily ascended by an open way to the same. In the f the mines there were numerous Indian pueblos. ut they found two rivers † of a reasonable bigness, upon whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, groves of walnut-trees, and much flax like that of

Espejo then returned to Zuñi. Thence he determined still higher up Rio del Norte. Having travelled sixty vards the province of Quires, twelve leagues further ound a province of Indians called Hubates, containing thousand people well dressed in coloured mantles of hides. They had many mountains full of pines and l the houses of their towns were four or five stories e they had notice of another province, distant one ey thence, inhabited by Indians called Tamos (Toas), ing forty thousand souls. But this people having ittance to their towns, the Spaniards returned, and, 20 leagues down a river called Rio de las Vacas , united again with the Rio del Norte, and went n July 1583. In conclusion, the author adds:— God vouchsafe His assistance in this business, that s of souls redeemed by His blood may not utterly

Moqui ?).

San Francisco Mountain, near which are large ruins described
creaves.

he Colorado Chiquito (Rio del Lino) and Rio Verde.

perish; of whose good capacity, wherein they exceed those of Mexico and Peru, we may boldly assert that they will embrace the Gospel and abandon such idolatry as now the most of them do live in."

If this account of Antonio de Espejo be a tolerably accurate chronicle of facts, the Rio Grande valley must have been very well peopled. He describes no less than sixteen provinces or kingdoms, and mentions others from hearsay; and if his estimates of population at all approach the truth, there were far more people in that one valley in the sixteenth century than there are now in the whole of New Mexico and Arizona united, including both Mexicans and Americans.

Although the Pueblo Indians seem to have been unacquainted with the working of metals, yet we hear reports of gold and silver being discovered after this time (1582) in many parts of the very country which was reported by its discoverers to be utterly unworthy of colonization. It would, however, be giving the subject more attention than is here desirable were I to quote further from Spanish sources, especially as I think the chief object has been already gained, namely, of proving that the towns now in ruins were thickly inhabited when the first Europeans entered the country.

Looking at the question of the rise and fall of Pueblo Indian power in New Mexico and Arizona from a geographical as well as an historical point of view, I have come to the following conclusions respecting it; but in expressing these views I do not bind myself very closely to them; for I think it quite probable that far more light may some day be thrown upon this interesting subject by others, who will be able to bridge over many gaps in the evidence which now form almost impassable barriers to a complete line of argument.

These town-building Indians, I consider, were the skirmish-line of the Aztec race when that race was united and in the plenitude of its power. They came originally from the southern provinces of Mexico, probably in separate detachments—the restless spirits of semicivilized tribes, speaking distinct dialects, although more or less united under one central government; and they tried, with all the skill brought from Anahuac and the southern provinces of Mexico, to colonize the outlying countries to the northward. The route taken by these Aztec pioneers was probably that which the physical geography of the country naturally suggests, viz. through the provinces now called Sinaloa and Sonora, west, of course, of the main Cordilleras, to the Gila valley, and thence northward, along the tributary streams of that river towards the Great Cañon of the Colorado. Some

followed the Gila, across the Gila desert, to its mouth, and thence up the Colorado, until, attracted by the fertility of some of its valleys, they planted a colony on its banks, and appear to have fraternized to a great extent with the native tribes of that district. And thus it was that Captain Fernando Alarçon, who, in 1540, discovered the Rio Colorado, "having passed various tribes," as he ascended the stream, "without being able to communicate except by signs, at length reached a people who understood the language of an Indian he had brought with him from Mexico, and told him of a similar people who dwelt far to the eastward in great houses built of stone, wore long white robes, and came yearly to the river to buy maize; for their fields were small, whereas the lands along the Colorado, being subject to an annual overflow, produced food in abundance" *.

The main stream of emigration evidently flowed northward; the rich bottom-lands along the Gila were occupied and placed under irrigation, the valleys of the Rio Verde, Salinas, and other streams were taken possession of, and the Apaches (who probably carried on agriculture to some extent along their banks) were driven into the mountains. These savages were probably treated by the Aztecs as barbarian hordes, whom they found it impossible thoroughly to subdue, but who harassed them perpetually, and obliged them to devise means of protecting their settlements against surprise, and their rich corn-fields from pillage. Thus they introduced the art of building houses of stone and adobe from Mexico into their newly acquired territory, and adopted that system of communism in their fortified towns which best suited their purpose. They chose commanding positions upon the summits of the mesas, overlooking large tracts of fertile bottom-land, and added story to story in such a manner that a few resolute defenders could keep almost any number of assailants, similarly armed, at bay. The Apaches seem to have been at last so successfully kept under, that Father Marco and Vasquez de Coronado were conducted by the Aztecs through the very centre of a country which is now entirely given over to the savages, and across which no one at the present time would dream of passing. Nor do we hear much about these sons of plunder until nearly the middle of the 18th century.

The town-builders gradually pushed their way northward to Pueblo Creek, the Aztec Mountains, and the San Francisco Peaks; but on trying to penetrate further their progress was

* The tribe here spoken of may be the Mojaves. If so, contact with the neighbouring tribes must have caused them sadly to degenerate; for at present they are polygamists, like the other Colorado tribes, and do not seem superior to them in intellect or manner of living.

suddenly arrested by an impassable barrier—the cañons of the Colorado and Flax (Chiquito) rivers, which, united, form a gulf 300 miles at least in length, directly across their course.

Stopped more effectually by nature than by any barrier man could devise, they naturally rejected the worthless regions lying to the westward, and turned their course towards the east, occupying the fine valleys of the Colorado Chiquito above its cañon, and following its branches to their source. Having established the kingdom of Cevola, of which Zuñi was the capital, and several other clusters of towns on the neighbouring streams, they commenced to push still further up into the Navajo country, and tried to protect themselves wherever they went against that tribe by building fortified towns. Thus the seven Moqui villages were built; and still further to the north another cluster of ruins bear record of yet another colony. To the north-eastward they passed from the heads of the Flax River to the southern branches of the San Juan, where they built many populous towns, as the ruins in the Cañon de Chaco and the Valle de Chelly bear witness, until at last, by following up the headwaters of the Rio de San Juan into the mountains of Colorado, they entered the commencement of the Rio Grande valley, and thus discovered a new and still finer region to colonize and to subdue.

Gradually they worked down the valley from the *north, as their traditions assert*, and very naturally built a large stronghold at Toas, to protect that magnificent valley against the attacks of Utes from the mountains, to which it was exposed. In time the entire valley was peopled and studded with groups of towns from latitude 37° to 32° , a distance of over 400 miles. So numerous did the Pueblo Indians become in the main valley that they found it unnecessary to live in fortified towns there; but the settlements on the outskirts, such as Pecos, Quarra, or Gran Quivera, where raids from the Buffalo Indians (Arapahoes and Comanches) were to be feared, or Laguna and Acoma, unpleasantly near the homes of the Navajos, were constructed on the same plan as those in the Colorado basin, and were quite as strongly fortified.

Lastly, it is so short and easy a route from the Rio Grande valley about El Paso (which district, according to early Spanish authorities, contained many towns and a great number of people) to the beautiful and fertile valley of the Rio Corralitos and its lake the Laguna de Guzman, that I feel convinced the Casas Grandes on this stream were built by a colony thence, and that the people now occupying it were quite right when they told Mr. Bartlett that the big houses were built by Montezuma's people, who came there *from the north*.

Thus it is that the town-building Indians of New Mexico, not having any record of their former emigration from Old Mexico, have introduced the worship of Montezuma and a state of civilization quite unknown in North America, and yet affirm, in many oft-repeated traditions, that they came from *the north*—the headwaters of the Rio Grande.

They are right as far as they go; but they seem to me to have misled every authority I have met with on the subject, some of whom have expended much ingenious argument in trying to prove that they came from the north-western part of the continent (perhaps originally from Kamtschatka), that they crossed a region occupying the upper basin of the Colorado, inhospitable enough to repel any colonists under the sun, and that their town-building and Montezuma-worship were of endogenous growth, founded by that great emperor himself.

This is certain, viz. that as one community claims the head of the Rio Grande as the birthplace of the great king, another some district in its own part of the country, and so on, there is no reliance whatever to be placed on any such attempts at local exaltation; but that these people are an offshoot of the race which, under the name of Aztec, overspread Mexico previously to the invasion of the Spaniards, there is, I think, very little doubt.

As late as the end of the 16th century all or nearly all the ruins scattered throughout the country, besides many lesser ones now worn away, were inhabited, and the country, according to Spanish accounts, was very fairly populated. At first the Spaniards were received with confidence and kindness: they seem to have been welcomed, by a race striving after civilization, as superior beings come to help them in their struggle against barbarism. But they soon found that conquest and conversion by force to a new creed were the ruling passions of the intruders, and that they must fight to the last to protect their homes.

From the scraps of information furnished us by Spanish missionaries and commanders we know that the stand these people made for freedom was a long and gallant one. But of course it was useless.

The Papagos, who rendered so much assistance to the earliest pioneers, made a most protracted resistance; and, after years of warfare, at last united in a body, invoked their deity (who was supposed to live on the summit of Babuquivari Peak), placed all their families, cattle, and worldly goods in a place of safety, and risked and lost their all in one final battle. Since then they have forsaken their old faith, and remained in peace with the Mexicans.

All the Pueblos were at last subdued, even to the Moquis, far

to the northward, who, by the zeal of the Franciscans, had been "wholly converted and reduced" before the middle of the 17th century.

Until 1680 the Spaniards appear to have held undisputed sway everywhere; and they adopted their usual course of enslaving the entire population. They colonized the country in considerable numbers, explored the mountains for precious metals, and did a great deal of mining in many places.

If slavery when applied to field labour is destructive to life, what must it be when directed to mining? By means of manual labour alone (that is, by carrying the ore in hand-baskets from the "labores" and the water of the deeper workings in buckets, and by grinding the quartz in the rude "arastras," to which men were yoked) large fortunes were made by the conquerors. The ruins of a large prison at the copper-mines in the Miembres Mountains, old mines discovered in greater numbers year by year, which have been carefully stopped up, as well as the traditions of the Indians, all show clearly how the Spaniards used their power.

At last the miserable Pueblos could bear their degradation no longer, and rose throughout the entire country upon their taskmasters. Thoroughly detesting the Spaniards, they gave no quarter, and swept them completely from the land. The inhabitants of Santa Fé escaped with their lives down the Rio Grande and founded El Paso, which was the most northern point retained by the whites.

The people of Moqui joined with all their other neighbours in the insurrection, and renounced the Catholic faith. They were never afterwards brought under subjection, nor was the Cross again planted either there or at Zufii. As regards the other "kingdoms," they were gradually retaken, but not until seven years of hard fighting had thoroughly crushed the inhabitants. We may be tolerably certain that, after massacring their kinsfolk and renouncing Christianity, the Pueblo Indians received no mercy from the Spaniards.

When peace and Christianity were again restored, a more humane policy seems to have been inculcated from the home government and strongly demanded by the clergy on behalf of their poor brethren. As early as the year 1551 we find statutes amongst the laws of Spain laying down, "in the first place, what means are most suitable for the instruction of the Indians in the the Holy Catholic Faith, &c.," and, in the second place, providing that "the Indians should be brought to settle," and that such lands be chosen for them as are "healthy, ascertaining if there may live in them men of great age, and youths of good condition . . . whether animals and flocks are healthy and of ample

uits and articles of food good the land
 owing" (Charles V., 21st March, 1551.
 June 26th, 1523, and Dec. 1st, 1543.) Also de-
 p II., 1638, are to a similar effect. But one dated
 4th, 1687, is of especial importance; for it no
 placing the Indians upon reservations; but it ex-
 em of giving Spanish grants to the Pueblo Indians,
 ts them with those very letters patent which they
 which the United States government has promised

ng are a few abridged quotations from it :—

as in my Royal Council of the Indos, the Marquis
 y of New Spain, ordered that each Pueblo as
 nd to sow, &c. . . . should be given 500 * varas,
 necessary, and that no land should be granted to
 er than 1000 varas, cloth or silk measure, to the
 ds of the Indians. . . . And whereas these In-
 ve been encroached upon by owners of estates and
 depriving the Indians of them, and seizing upon
 nes violently, sometimes fraudulently, for which
 erable Indians have lost houses and towns, which
 aniards seek for and desire. . . . I have thought
 r and command that there be given and assigned
 ll the Indian Pueblos of New Spain for their farm-
 only 500 varas around the place of settlement, mea-
 e furthest house in the place north, south, east, and
 from the church (generally placed in the centre of
 ut also 1000 varas more, and shall be authorized
 many more varas of land as shall appear neces-
 imitation."

f these grants differs considerably amongst the
 eight pueblos each grant covers between 17,000
 cres; Isleta contains 110,000 acres; Santa Do-
) acres; the smallest is 13,000 acres. Most of
 k to 1689, two years after the passing of the above
 te of the patent of Sandia is 1748. Thus, then,
 inct acknowledgment by the Spanish government
 ty for granting special licenses to this industrious
 zed people.

e greatest evils, however, which existed under
 vas the almost entire absence of responsibility in
 it to govern the remote provinces. However poor
 ame, the men in office must grow rich. It mat-
 e how much native labour was consumed, so long

5000 varas = 1 legua = 2.636 English miles.

U

as the coffers of the wealthy were rapidly replenished. And thus it happened that the Pueblo Indians gradually decreased; wars and slavery did their worst, until they were unable in many places even to hold their own against the Apaches, who, quick in discovering the weakness of their neighbours, did not hesitate, we may be sure, in trying to complete their ruin.

All the pueblos situated along the Rio Verde, the Salinas, and other northern branches of the Gila, were, from their position, most exposed to attack. The dead tell no tales; but if those ruins could speak, I think they might relate dismal stories of crops yearly destroyed all around them, of cattle run off by thousands, of famished children calling for bread, and of sons and fathers left dead amongst the mountains. The pueblos on Pueblo Creek, those on the streams in the Navajo country, and others similarly situated shared the same fate; the Indians of Zuñi, the Pimas, and the Papagos were able to protect themselves. The Moquis were saved by the impregnable nature of their country; and the remnant of the kingdoms in the Rio Grande valley were, of course, protected by the Spanish population.

The time at last came when the strong military establishments, so well kept up when Spain was powerful, gradually fell to decay as troops were required to maintain the semblance of power in the southern provinces; and thus the Mexicans, as well as the Pueblos, found themselves unequal to the task of keeping the savages at bay.

No further proof is required of this statement than the following quotation from Miguel Vinea's 'History of California,' dated 1758. After accurately describing the dimensions of the Apache country, he continues:—"Within a circuit of 300 leagues the Apaches reside in their small rancheras erected in the valleys and in the breeches of the mountains. They are cruel to those who have the misfortune to fall into their hands; and amongst them are several apostates. They go entirely naked, but make their incursions on horses of great swiftness, which they have stolen from other parts. A skin serves them as a saddle. Of the same skins they make little boots or shoes of one piece (moccasins), and by these they are traced in their flight. They begin the attack with shouts at a great distance, to strike the enemy with terror. They have not naturally any great share of courage; but the little they can boast of is extravagantly increased on any good success. In war, they rather depend upon artifice than valour; and on any defeat submit to the most ignominious terms, but keep their treaties no longer than suits their convenience. His Majesty has ordered that if any require peace, it should be granted, and even offered to them

before they are attacked. But this generosity they construe to proceed from fear. Their arms are the common bows and arrows of the country. The intention of their incursions is plunder, especially horses, which they use both for riding and eating, the flesh of these creatures being one of their greatest dainties.

"These people, during the last eighty years past, have been the dread of Sonora, no part of which was secure from their violence. . . . Of late years the insolence of these savages has been carried to the most audacious height from the success of some of their stratagems, particularly owing to the variances and indolence of the Spaniards. . . . The Apaches penetrate into the province by different passes, and, after loading themselves with booty, will travel in one night fifteen, eighteen, or twenty leagues. To pursue them over mountains is equally dangerous and difficult; and in the levels they follow no paths. On any entrance into their country, they give notice to one another by smokes or fires; and at a signal they all hide themselves. The damages they have done in the villages, settlements, farms, roads, pastures, woods, and mines are beyond description; and many of the latter, though very rich, have been forsaken."

No better description than this could be given of the Apaches at the present time.

With respect to Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, these pueblos, when built, were evidently liable to the incursions of the Apaches; otherwise they would not have been constructed as fortified towns. But rich mines were early discovered in the mountains hard by, and extensively worked by the Spaniards; so that it is impossible to say whether slavery or the Apaches, or both, caused the destruction of the entire population.

It only remains, in concluding this account of the Pueblo Indians and their history, to say a few words on a subject usually brought forward as chief amongst the causes which have led to the extinction of that race.

I have heard it affirmed on all sides that the country has become depopulated because it is no longer capable of sustaining its former inhabitants, and that as the face of nature changed, so did those dependent upon nature diminish. The country *has* changed for the worse. A few centuries ago the rainfall was greater, forests were more abundant, spots were productive which now are barren, and springs gushed from the ground which now are dry. But at this period, also, a much larger area of land was probably under cultivation (both with and without irrigation) than to-day; and I think it far more likely that the decrease in the amount of land cultivated tended to produce aridity than that the change of climate made the country uninhabitable. The Spaniards probably did great mischief by strip-

ping the hills of timber for mining-purposes, and thus drying up springs, the waters of which were so needed in the valleys. The greater part of the Rio Grande was swept of its timber, and is very different now from what it was when Antonio de Espejo visited it in 1582*. The Apaches also have a very destructive habit, amongst their long catalogue of vices, of firing the forests of their enemies. Although these facts may account for the gradual drying up of the country, they will not explain how it happens that the fertile bottom-lands along the Rio Verde (a country, according to Lereux, "well timbered, and containing many lagoons") are now uninhabited, while the people of Moqui, who live almost in a desert, have managed to fight out the battle of existence down to the present day.

Colonel Greenwood, who had charge of one of our engineering parties, discovered two very remarkable objects near the San Francisco Mountains. One was a broken jar, into the hollow of which lava had flowed; the other was the skeleton of a man, encased in the same material. If the colonel was not deceived, it is certain that some of the lava which now covers large tracts of country in many parts of New Mexico, and especially Arizona, and still looks bright and fresh, was poured over the surface within the present epoch; but it cannot prove that either the convulsions of the earth or climatic changes produced by them so altered the condition of the land that it starved out its inhabitants. The natural workings of cause and effect are, I think, sufficient to account for the present desolation of these regions, without calling to our aid either meteorology or geology.

XX.—On the Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches.

By MORTON C. FISHER, Esq.

THERE are few people, among the various branches of the human family scattered over the surface of the earth, who excite the interest and sympathy of the civilized nations of the world, to a greater degree than the Indians of North America, more especially those Indians who formerly occupied that portion of the American continent now inhabited by the people of the United States.

Our knowledge of them commences with the discovery and early settlement of the Western Hemisphere; and the early

* The engraving of the Rio Grande, in the next chapter (*op. cit.*), represents it as well timbered; this view, however, was taken in a district quite uninhabited, and one, moreover, which has remained so for a very long period.

history of the United States teaches us that they were a primitive nation of many tribes, of noble yet barbarous and savage instincts, passive and friendly in time of peace, even hospitable to those who sought their country or protection, but fierce and bloodthirsty while on the war-path, neither asking nor granting quarter to their prisoners, whether man, woman, or child.

This history teaches us that they are noble; for it tells us that when the Quakers, guided by William Penn, sought the shores of the New World to ask from the Red Man an abode wherein they might undisturbed follow the doctrines of their faith, the Indian stretched forth his hand and bid them welcome, apportioned them a large district of country, and bade them live in peace and harmony with him, and share, without tax or tithe, the bounties which nature with so generous a hand had bestowed upon his country. And the Indians kept their promise; for never has there been a Broadbrim in distress. And when we refresh ourselves by calling to mind the story of the rescue of Captain John Smith, who was taken prisoner and condemned to die by the Council of War, and imagine the feelings of mercy that prompted Pocahontas, the beautiful daughter of Powhattan, a proud and powerful chief of the Six Nations, to cast aside that maidenly modesty so much prized by these rude sons of nature, and throw herself between the bound body of the victim and the upraised tomahawk of the savage, and plead that his life should be spared, saying, "I am but a squaw, take my life, but spare that of the brave pale-face," it must be admitted that the Indian character possesses some of the noble instincts attributed to it.

But, associating these historical facts with the impressive and highly coloured stories of Cooper, wherein the character of the Indian is described as possessing all the virtues and none of the vices of the whites, we are led to believe, from our school-boy days, that the "Indian of the Period," when first discovered upon the shores of the New World, was beyond doubt a being somewhat superior in point of honour, bravery, and generosity to those who sought his country.

As we grow older, however, experience teaches us that the Indians are a barbarous, savage, and indolent people, who prefer eking out a miserable existence, wandering over the great plains, in a wild and savage state, murdering and pilfering, whenever they can do so without any danger to themselves, rather than accept in peace and good faith the guardianship and protection which the government of the United States is at present, and always has been, ready to extend towards them.

It is therefore conclusive that people who form their ideas of the Indian from Cooper and other authors of Indian tales, aided by *quasi* historical facts, must differ somewhat in opinion from

those who draw their conclusions from actual experience and intercourse with them ; hence the great diversity of opinion as to the Indian and the proper mode of treating him.

The term " Wild Indian," in common parlance, is applied to the members of those tribes who exist in a perfectly wild state upon the great plains in the western part of the United States. The principal and most numerous of these tribes, occupying the territory to the east of the Rocky Mountains are :—the Sioux, the Blackfeet, the Crows, the Snakes, and the Flatheads, living to the north of the Platte River ; the Pawnees and Kaws, or Kansas Indians, occupying the territory to the east ; and the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, whose country lies south of the river Platte, extending as far as Texas and Mexico. There are many other smaller tribes who roam about this country, who, although they assume different tribal names, belong to, or are in some way connected with, the tribes above mentioned, but have become detached or separated from them by reason of intestine quarrels or petty jealousies. The habits and mode of life of all of these Indians are similar, though each tribe has its peculiar characteristics. Their principal source of revenue is the buffalo, upon which they are actually dependent for their miserable existence ; for it affords them not only a supply of meat, which, by being jerked and dried, furnishes them food for winter, but also supplies them with skins, with which their lodges or wigwams are covered, and which they also use for bedding and in lieu of blankets to protect them from cold and inclement weather. The flesh and skin of the deer and antelope also furnish them with both food and material for clothing, as most of the moccasins, leggings, and shirts for the squaws are made of dressed buck or antelope skins. I might also say that they are almost equally dependent upon their ponies, of which they possess great numbers ; for these they use not only on the war-path, and as beasts of burden, to pack their lodges from one camping-ground to another, but also as a means to run down the buffalo, and to bring the flesh into the village for the squaws to dress and dry for winter use.

The wealth of an Indian is estimated by the number of ponies and mules he owns ; while, as squaws are generally purchased with ponies or mules, it follows that the more squaws he possesses the greater his dignity and importance among his tribe. For as all heads of families are chiefs, as a matter of course the greater the family the greater the chief.

Their dress is primitive and simple, every Indian being his own tailor. The full dress of a man consists of :—a pair of moccasins, with leggings bound tight round the calf of the leg and fastened above the knee ; a girdle round the loins, with a short

apron attached which falls over the thighs ; and a feather or two, or perhaps a silver coin hammered out, polished, and plaited in the hair. To this may be added, however, his top coat, which consists of a buffalo robe, which he majestically throws over his shoulders, leaving it open in front, and trailing behind on ordinary occasions, or drawing it tightly around his person when exposed to the cold weather.

The squaws, as a rule, have not only a suit of buckskin, or of coarse cotton fabric, which they obtain from the Indian traders, but frequently have frocks or gowns with short sleeves, which they wear over their buckskin or cotton clothing, and fasten with a belt around the waist. The children, up to the age of 10 or 12, are never encumbered with clothing of any description, except occasionally a few rings of brass wire wound around the wrists or ankles, which they seem to prize very highly.

Some of the American ladies, like those to be found among other nations, are far-sighted ; for their desire to do good so magnifies their power of vision, that, overlooking the wants and necessities of those in their own immediate neighbourhood, they frequently discover in distant and foreign lands objects whom they can attack with their charitable offerings with impunity, and without fear of retaliation. To these ladies the wild Indians have for generations past furnished an unlimited field for operations. It is really quite a treat, in these selfish days, to witness with what Christian feelings and resignation these charitable ladies neglect even their own home duties, to congregate at each others' houses, for the sole purpose of making flannel underclothing for the little Indians ; for they have learned from Mr. Smith, who has just returned from their country, that these poor little children run about in a state of absolute nudity. But Mr. Jones, upon his return a year or two after, has not the courage or temerity to tell the ladies what a state of perplexity the poor Indians were in, upon the receipt of these little articles. They were highly delighted, for the things were made of red, bright red, flannel ; but to what use could they be put ? They were not long enough for quivers for their arrows, and they did not fit the stocks of their guns and rifles : they tried the little shirts on their horses' heads ; but the sleeves were too long for the ears, besides which there were no eye-holes. At last, however, an Indian, who has seen something of the Whites, and calls himself " Big Indian heap speaky English," takes out his knife and converts the clothing into strips, with which he decorates his horse's mane and tail, and ties them around his lance-pole. His example is immediately followed by the remainder, who in their simplicity are at a loss to conceive why the material could not be made into strips at first instead

of the inconvenient form in which they receive it. But the object, charity, is not lost; for, although the body of the little Indian is not covered, yet his heart is delighted to witness the ornamental decorations of the horses and spears.

The wigwams or "lodges" (as they are termed by the whites) of the majority of these Indians are in the form of a cone with a broad base, being of the same shape as the Sibly tent. In fact Major, now General Sibly, received his first ideas for the construction of the famous Sibly tent from these Indian lodges.

The lodge is constructed on a framework of small pine poles, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 20 feet in length. It is the duty of the squaws to procure these, and that of the men to furnish to the squaws material for covering, which consists of buffalo-skins—a small lodge requiring sixteen, and a large one twenty-two skins. These the squaws dress until they are soft and pliable. They then sew them together, using as thread the sinews, which they take from the hind leg of the deer. They cut the skins and sew them so closely together that the covering may be considered air- and water-tight. It is the duty of the squaw also to take the sole charge of the lodges belonging to her brave. Upon arriving at a new camping-ground, which is almost always selected upon the banks of one of the beautiful little rivers that take their source from the melting snows of the mountains, she at once unpacks the ponies, and brings the several sets of poles and coverings to the spot where the lodges are to be erected. A noose or ring of buffalo-skin, about 12 inches in diameter, is fastened to the end of a pole; into this the ends of two other poles are introduced, and twisted in such a manner as to bind them firmly together. The squaw then passes the end of a long rope, made of buffalo-skin, through a loop attached also to the end of one of the three poles; the other end of the rope is attached to the upper part of the covering, which is placed upon the ground close at hand, and in readiness to be drawn up and over the frame, as soon as it is completed. The three poles are now stuck into the ground, forming a tripod; and the other poles are placed in position by putting one end of each through the loop or ring, attached to the top of the three first placed, and imbedding the other ends in the ground at a distance of about 4 feet apart; so that, when the fifteen or twenty poles are placed, they enclose a space about 20 feet in diameter at the base, and, converging to a point at a height of about 16 feet from the ground, form the framework of the lodge. The covering is now drawn up by means of the rope already passed through the loop at the top of one of the poles of the tripod, and secured. The squaw, then passing around the circle of poles, pulls the lower part of the covering down to the ground, and secures it to

its proper place by fastening it to small stakes driven into the ground. There are two openings in the lodge—one at the lower part used as a door, and one at the top, which answers the purposes of a chimney. The fire is lighted upon the ground, in the centre of the space enclosed by the lodge; the smoke ascending passes out of the opening at the top. Upon changing camp the squaw takes down the lodge, and doubles up the covering to about a yard square; then, dividing the poles into two lots, she places them upon the ground parallel to each other, and about a yard apart; she then leads a pony in between the two lots of poles, and passes the upper end of each lot through a loop which is attached to the pack-saddle, and hangs on both sides of the pony near his shoulders; the other ends of the poles rest upon the ground in two distinct groups, about 4 feet apart, the pony standing longitudinally between them. The covering is now fastened to the two sets of poles, a couple of feet from the pony's tail, and a few inches from the ground, swinging between the poles like a hammock, in which are placed the children and other articles too bulky to be tied to the riding-saddles. As the pony trots along, the springing of the poles soon puts the babies to sleep; and the squaws, either riding or walking in the rear, driving along the ponies, have no more trouble till they come to camp again. The time occupied in setting or striking a lodge is not more than ten or fifteen minutes; so that in case of a village being discovered and surprised by a warlike party of Indians, the men of the village immediately mount their horses and advance to meet the intruders, while the squaws take down and pack up the lodges, and are out of sight in an incredibly short time. They are rejoined by their chiefs as soon as possible at the place agreed upon, which is frequently many miles away. The facility with which they move from place to place renders it impossible for regular troops to follow them successfully, except during such periods of the year that their ponies are in a poor condition.

It is beneath the dignity of the warrior to do any kind of manual labour; consequently the squaw is the slave of her chief or master. As he buys her from her father, he treats her much in the same way as he does his horses—often with much less consideration. When living in camp, she is not only obliged to wait upon him, but also to keep the lodge in order, go to the nearest timber, and bring in firewood upon her back, and often take care of all the ponies, herding them if grazing, or changing their pastures if tethered, as often as requisite. But perhaps the most laborious of her duties is the dressing of the buffalo-skins, a single skin requiring several days' very hard labour. It is her duty also to make all the moccasins and leggings used

by the chief; and she is frequently obliged to go without herself in order that he may be supplied. In fact, her life is one of constant drudgery; she is beaten and kicked about whenever her master pleases to do so; and she seems to respect him more for it, as it makes her think that he is very brave; and frequently upon the death of the most brutal husband, the squaw becomes almost disconsolate, refusing nourishment of any kind for a period that would prove fatal to perhaps any but an Indian. The duties of the chief are less onerous; in fact he has nothing more to do than to go on the war-path, hunt, sometimes commit a murder, and always steal. But the last-named duties are only attended to when there is little personal danger to himself.

The buffalo is hunted in several ways: the most successful and favourite plan generally adopted is by encircling a band or herd of them. As they are a migratory animal, going as far north as the waters of the Yellowstone in the summer, and as far south as Texas and Mexico in winter, it is necessary that the Indians should either follow them into the territory of a neighbouring tribe (which with them is considered a breach of international etiquette, and often brings on a war) or slay as many as they can, while they are passing through their own country; the latter method is the one most frequently resorted to.

For this purpose a hunting-party of 200 to 600 go out together, mounted upon their best ponies, and armed with spears and bows and arrows, the spears and arrows being pointed with iron heads. Upon arriving in sight of the buffalo, the air resounds with their savage yells; but as soon as they come to the band, they cease for a time their noise, and proceed to cut off from the main herd a band of several thousands: they then surround these, yelling and gesticulating in the most frantic manner, spearing them, and killing them with their arrows; but when they have slaughtered as many as they think they can take care of, they allow the remainder to run off; for they never kill more than they can handle with their party, as they appear to have an instinct which teaches them that their existence depends entirely upon that of the buffalo, believing, as it would seem, that the last buffalo will fall by the hand of the last survivor of their race.

The bows of these Indians are so powerful, and they use them with such skill, that many instances have been known of an arrow being driven entirely through the body of a buffalo (passing, of course, between the ribs) and entering the body of another running alongside, deep enough to cause his death.

The squaws, old men, and children follow the hunting-party, keeping as near to them as prudence will permit, for the purpose of taking care of the skins and meat; for, as soon as the hunt

The noble Red Man retires from the field, leaving all his part of the work to the non-combatants, who at once commence their work with a will and action which is in great contrast to their lazy and indolent natures.

His next operation is to skin the beast. This done, they cut off his flesh, which they sever into long thin strips, and exposed on ropes to the rays of the sun until they become quite dry, the aridity of the atmosphere permitting them to remain in a sound and healthy condition; these they put up in bundles of about a hundredweight each, using as a covering the skins as are either unfit or too small to dress. The venison is then taken to their lodges, packed on the backs of the dogs and kept for use when required. If it is properly cured, it has a very pleasant and agreeable flavour for a long time. The skins which are intended to be dressed are stretched upon frames, and secured by pins driven into the ground. The hunter then sits down upon her knees, and commences by scraping with a dull butcher's knife, or a piece of horn; then with her hands, rubbing, and application of the brains of the buffalo, until actually makes the skin soft and pliable.

While this is going on, the hunters express their satisfaction and pride at the success of the hunt by performing the buffalo-dance.

During these revels, such parts of the slaughtered animals as are unfit for drying are feasted upon; the heads are roasted in a trench filled with hot stones, and are considered a delicacy. After the hunt is over, or when the buffalo has been driven out of their country, the whole party return to their tents—the squaw to slave and drudge, the warrior to idle away the time as best he may, unless he goes out on a pilfering or exploring expedition, in which case great excitement prevails throughout the village, which does not abate until his return.

In the physical characteristics there is a great similarity in the appearance of almost all the above-named tribes.

The Pawnees, however, are shorter in stature, and have a more ruddy complexion than the others, with the exception, perhaps, of the Apaches, to whom they bear a strong resemblance. The Kiowas and Comanches also resemble each other, being in stature between that of the Pawnees and the Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches, who are very tall, averaging at least six feet in height. The three latter tribes wear their hair in the same way; and in their personal appearance is so similar that it is almost impossible to distinguish by their appearance one from the other. This idea seems to prevail among writers of Indian tales and romances, as well as among those who portray the Indian, that he is possessed of great muscular development. The reverse of this,

however, is the case. He leads a life of indolence and idleness, seldom taking manual or bodily exercise, and for a great part of his time lounging about, or mounted on his horse. It is obvious, therefore, from these reasons, that he cannot have the muscular development attributed to him by most writers; on the contrary, his arms are long and thin, while his legs are nearly of the same thickness from the knee to the ankle.

The majority of these Indians wear their hair (which is jet black and coarse) very long, the squaws allowing it to fall loosely in tangled masses over their shoulders; the men braiding or plaiting theirs in a long *queue*, in which they fasten feathers, pieces of coloured flannel, and round pieces of silver, quite smooth, made out of silver coins, all of which they obtain from the traders in exchange for their ponies, robes, &c. They wear no beards; their features are aquiline, with small dark hazel eyes, which they use with such cunning that although they may appear to be staring you full in the face, you can never meet or catch their gaze for a moment.

The Indian never expresses any astonishment at anything that he sees, while in the presence of strangers; if you could transport him instantaneously from his lodge, and seat him in a railway-carriage, or at the opera, he would conduct himself as if he had been used to such things from earliest childhood, and would give no expression or look of curiosity or astonishment. But upon his return to his people, he would relate all he had seen with faithful accuracy.

A warrior who is capable of being surprised at anything is a squaw, and does not possess the qualities of a brave. The Indians never complain of anything that happens to them, provided they bring it upon themselves, by meddling with matters they do not understand. To illustrate this, I will here relate a little incident that occurred in the early days of Denver. A gunsmith had a small shop in one of the principal streets, into which the Indians used to enter, apparently for the purpose of learning the trade, as one would think from the way in which they watched the smith hour by hour, but in reality for the sole purpose of stealing such small parts of guns as they could carry away without detection—their *modus operandi* being to enter the shop with their flowing robes, and sit down upon anything they wanted to steal, and while appearing to be looking through the wall on the opposite side of the room, to pick up whatever they wanted, conceal it with their robe, and walk away with it in the most dignified manner. The smith determined to put a stop to this mode of pilfering, without, however, doing anything that would frighten the Indians off, as they frequently were good customers. One day, seeing three Indians looking into a shop window near

his own, and knowing them to be of the number of his visitors, he immediately placed a small iron tomahawk in the forge, and heated it quite hot; and as the Indians turned to enter his shop, he threw it down on a wooden form or bench, used for his customers to sit upon. They entered; the foremost saw the tomahawk, and, in order to get it under his arm beneath his robe, he sat down upon it; but he instantly jumped up, giving a simultaneous yell, and ran out of the shop, followed by the other two, who seemed greatly annoyed at the undignified conduct of their companion. But when they were made acquainted with the cause, they seemed highly amused, and at once named the Indian "The Man who was bitten with the Tomahawk." The circumstance became a standing joke among the whole tribe, giving the smith great notoriety, and making him quite a favourite among them.

The language of each of these tribes is distinct from the others; that of the Arapahoes being considered the most difficult of any to acquire. There is a language of signs, however, by which all Indians and traders can understand one another; and they always make these signs when communicating among themselves. The men when conversing together in their lodges sit upon skins, cross-legged like a Turk, and speak and make signs, in corroboration of what they say, with their hands, so that either a blind or deaf man could understand them. For instance, I meet an Indian, and wish to ask him if he saw six wagons drawn by horned cattle, with three Mexican and three American teamsters, and a man mounted on horseback. I make these signs:—I point with the fore finger of my right hand to the Indian, indicating "you," then to his eyes, meaning "see," then hold up all my fingers on the right hand and the fore finger of the left, meaning "6;" then I make two circles by bringing the ends of my thumbs and fore fingers together, and, holding my two hands out, move my wrists in such a way as to indicate wagon-wheels revolving, meaning "wagons;" then, by making an upward motion with each hand from both sides of my head, I indicate "horns," signifying horned cattle; then by first holding up three fingers, and then by placing my extended right hand below my lower lip and moving it downward stopping it midway down the chest, I indicate "beard," meaning Mexican; and with three fingers again, and passing my right hand from left to right in front of my forehead, I indicate "white brow" or "pale face." I then hold up my fore finger, meaning one man, and by placing the fore finger of my left hand between the fore and second finger of the right hand, representing a man astride of a horse, and by moving my hands up and down give the motion of a horse galloping with a man on his back. I in this way ask the Indian, "You see six wagons, horned cattle, three Mexicans, three Americans, one man on

horseback?" If he holds up his fore finger and lowers it quickly, as if he was pointing at some object on the ground, he means "Yes;" if he moves it from side to side, upon the principle that people sometimes move their head from side to side, he means "No." The time required to make these signs would be about the same as if you asked the question verbally.

The "Medicine Man" is a personage of great importance. He not only professes to heal the sick, but also to influence the elements, and worldly affairs of every description. When an Indian is taken ill the medicine man is called upon "to make medicine," which he proceeds to do in various ways,—sometimes by placing a number of stones or bones in the form of a circle upon the ground, and chanting in words that command the Evil Spirit, or beseech the Great Spirit, to make the invalid whole; at other times placing an Indian drum or tomboy upon a tripod of poles stuck up near the invalid's lodge, and painting certain characters upon it, or tying bits of coloured flannel or anything else on the poles, and then beating his chest, commands the invalid to be well. He also makes medicine for the success of any expedition that goes forth from his village, whether on the war-path or hunt. He is also supposed to be able to foretell coming events, and to prevent any calamity falling upon the tribe.

When a trader arrives at a village where he is known, he proceeds at once to the lodge of the head chief, who receives him as his guest, and commands his squaws to unpack his ponies, and convey all his goods, blankets, and cooking-kit to the lodge set apart for his reception. The chief, after giving him a feast and a smoke, begs from him anything that he may fancy, and then proceeds to harangue the village, in words, saying that the Arapahoe, Comanche, or any other Indians' (according to the tribe visited) friend, "Big Heart," "Red Head" (or any other name that the trader is known by,) has arrived in their village for the purpose of trading with them. The first day is devoted to the exchange of such ponies and mules as the Indians wish to dispose of, the second to that of buffalo-robcs, and the third to larrietts or lassos, buckskins, and moccasins. After the trade (or, as we would call it, the fair) is over, the chief delivers up everything that he has received and guarded over to the trader, and often sends out a few young men with him to help him on his road home with his accumulated herd of animals.

A friend of mine, known by the name of "Spotted Hand," some twenty-four years ago, traded with the Arapahoes, with whom he was a great favourite, when the following incident occurred, which is a striking example of the power and effect of Indian medicine. The story is as follows:—Upon the arrival of "Spotted Hand," the head chief immediately commanded one

was to unload his ponies of the goods he had brought with, and also his camp kit, &c. ; one of the articles of a hand-axe, a very necessary adjunct to camping out. obeyed, and a crowd of Indians gathered around the and goods, and the axe, being overlooked by the squaw, slipped up and concealed by a young Indian, who "Spotted Hand" observed in the act of carrying it to his own lodge ; but was said at the time. After, however, the trade was "Spotted Hand" asked that his ponies might be brought his goods packed upon them, so that he might depart, to come soon again. Of course, when all was packed he was missing, and "Spotted Hand" said to the chief, brothers ; for many moons have I brought my goods to you of my brother, and my brother has always received my goods, and kept them safe. I now depart from my lodge leaving behind something that is mine ; I gave away, nor did I sell it." This statement at once aroused the chief, who, when he ascertained that the hand-missing, called up the squaws, and would have beaten mercifully had not "Spotted Hand" interfered, telling that he had some medicine that would find the thief, present or absent. Whereupon he took out his watch, and a long independent second-hand that could be stopped by pressing a little spring. It happened to be the first they had ever seen, and it caused no little excitement ; when the chief heard it tick, and was shown the works, he felt his astonishment, and called it "the medicine that" "Spotted Hand" then explained to them that when an Indian who stole the axe should come near the medicine it would stop, pointing at him. And true enough ; for when he had the culprit (who came up to see what occasioned the stopping) got within sight of the watch, than, out of curiosity he pushed his way close to it, when he heard of the wonderful medicine that speaks, and what it would do. So getting to the watch, "Spotted Hand" touched the spring, and it stopped, pointing directly to the man. He uttered a cry, jumped up in the air, ran as fast as he could to his lodge, returned with the axe, which he immediately restored to the owner, while all the Indians expressed their astonishment at the wonderful medicine, and wanted to purchase it at any cost ; "Spotted Hand" told them it would only make medicine bad, and would be bad medicine if he parted with it, or if it fell into other hands than his own. Ever after, when he returned to the same village, he was always asked to show his great medicine, and for many years it gave him great influence with the tribe.

The young Indians are allowed to run about as they please, sometimes assisting the squaws in herding the ponies, or dressing and jerking the meat, at other times amusing themselves as best they can.

Indian courtship is simple and primitive. An Indian sees a young squaw whom he fancies, and immediately sets about to buy her of her father. Among the Sioux, and some other tribes, the custom is to buy the eldest of the chief's daughters, then the others all belong to him, and are taken to wife at such times as the husband sees fit. His first step to secure this happy end is to ascertain in what lodge her father sleeps, for he may be possessed of several. Then, after all is silent in the lodge, he approaches and ties one or more horses to one of the stakes of the lodge, and quietly awaits the result. When the chief comes out of his lodge in the morning, he proceeds to examine the offering. If he has a number of daughters he requires a corresponding number of horses; usually the first, and even the second and third offering (each one being increased by a horse or two every night) are turned loose in contempt by the mercenary papa, who will not accept for his son-in-law any one of the tribe unless he receives in exchange for his daughters as many ponies as he estimates they are worth. It will thus be seen that when ponies are scarce squaws are cheap, and *vice versa*. As soon as he thinks that the young man has tied as many horses to the lodge as he intends to do, he quietly (instead of untying them and turning them loose) turns them into his own band of ponies. This is a signal of acceptance on the part of the father, and the happy lover immediately conducts the bride and all her sisters to the lodges he has prepared for them. From this time he owns them with the same rights of possession that he does his ponies or lodges. He can sell them or desert them whenever he pleases.

When the Indian becomes too old to continue the roving life of the tribe, he or she is left to die upon the plains. This mode of desertion is only resorted to when the tribe are moving, or in a state of great poverty. The person thus left seems perfectly resigned, bidding farewell to the members of his family and tribe (who come around him and give him such articles of nourishment and comfort as they can spare), and saying to them that his day has come, and he bids them not to mourn for him, that he is going to the happy hunting-ground of the Great Spirit, where he will await their coming. After a few days' lingering the poor creature dies, and the wolves soon devour his remains.

When, however, the Indian dies surrounded by his people, his body is carefully enwrapped in his blanket, and either buried in the bottom of a stream, or put upon a litter and fastened among

the branches of a tree; or, perhaps, if there are no trees near by, four poles are fixed in the ground, and the litter upon which rest the remains is fastened upon the stakes, at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet from the ground. The medicine-bag of the Indian is tied around the neck, and often a supply of food, which is renewed as frequently as the home supply will admit of. Sometimes the war- or hunting-horse of the brave is tied to the tree or killed upon the grave, so that the warrior, upon his arrival in the happy hunting-ground, will have his trusty steed beside him.

Although old Indians are left to die of starvation upon the plains, they are for a long time not forgotten; and the lamentations of the squaws whenever anything brings to their minds the memory of departed friends, who may have been dead a month or any number of years, is certainly very affecting. Whenever they chance to think of a departed friend, they immediately quit anything they may be doing, and at once proceed to the top of the nearest hill, where they sit down, fold their hands around their knees, and, rocking to and fro, break out in the most doleful wailings. This hideous noise soon falls upon the ears of other squaws; and it frequently happens that, an hour after the first is taken, the epidemic spreads throughout the village, and all the squaws are seated in a circle, or on the top of the hill, rocking to and fro, and making this mournful noise. They always keep it up all night, and sometimes for several days.

In conclusion, I might add that the various tribes existing in the western parts of the United States are being rapidly decimated, and before many years pass away the noble Red Man of the original Six Nations will be a creature of the past.

ORDINARY MEETING, APRIL 27th, 1869.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

New Member.—J. H. BLACKWELL, Esq.

XXI.—The North-American Indians: a Sketch of some of the Hostile Tribes, together with a brief account of General Sheridan's campaign of 1868 against the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians. By WILLIAM BLACKMORE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following account of some of the wild aborigines of the United States, who have recently been engaged in warfare with

that Government, together with a brief sketch of the Indian war of last autumn with the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians, which, commencing in August, was, by the skilful tactics, well-planned campaign, and indomitable energy of General Sheridan, brought to a conclusion by the end of the year, formed the substance of a paper read before the Ethnological Society of London on the 27th of April.

In the autumn of 1868 I visited the "Far West;" and, in addition to traversing the valley of the Platte, and thence across the Rocky Mountains to Salt-Lake City, I subsequently passed through the centre of the disturbed district, along what is known as the "Smoky Hill route." During my travels I visited several of the military forts on the frontier, and came into personal contact with many of the officers of the United States' army, then engaged in the Indian war. From them I gleaned many interesting incidents of the war; whilst General Sheridan was kind enough to explain to me the plan of his intended campaign against the Indians. Having been for many years an earnest student of ethnology, lamenting the apparently inevitable destiny of the Red Man, and being at the same time desirous of finding a solution of the difficult problem of the age, whether or not it be possible for the more highly civilized European or Anglo-American to live in amity and harmony with an inferior aboriginal race, I naturally took a deep interest in, and was led to investigate the causes of the war.

In the paper read before the Ethnological Society, I abstained from giving any account of the atrocities committed by the Indians against the whites. The recital of these barbarities is so horrible, and the facts which have come to my knowledge are so much worse than anything I have ever seen written, that for the sake of humanity I should rejoice if they could be suppressed and ignored. In the cause of truth, however, it is necessary to present the Indian as he really is—a degraded, brutal savage, devoid of either pity, feeling, or mercy; and with the view of explaining in some degree the intense loathing and antipathy felt by the western settler against the Indian, as well as by way of offering "extenuating circumstances" for the pitiless war of extermination waged against the latter, I have given in an appendix a few instances illustrating the treatment which the squaw, the enemy, and the white female captive usually receive at the hands of the so-called "Noble Red Man."

I have also given the latest statistics of the various Indian tribes, and have introduced the opinions of some of the most experienced and competent authorities as to the best and proper mode of the treatment of the Indians.

In justice to the army of the United States, I can cordially

bear testimony to the fact that to no section of the citizens of that country is an Indian war more distasteful. In confirmation, it is only necessary for me to quote the words of General Sherman, the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United States. In his communication to General Sheridan of the 14th of October last, speaking of the Indian war, General Sherman says:—

“As to extermination it is for themselves to determine. We do not want to exterminate or even fight them. At best it is an inglorious war, not apt to add much to our fame or personal comfort; and for our soldiers, to whom we owe our first thoughts, it is all danger and extreme labour without one compensating advantage. To accuse us of inaugurating or wishing such a war, is to accuse us of a want of common sense, and of that regard for order and peace which has ever characterized our regular army.”

With reference to the Sand-Creek or Chivington's massacre, which is a subject of much debate between the inhabitants of the Eastern and Western States, I have refrained from expressing my own opinion (although I have thoroughly investigated the subject), and have preferred giving the conclusions of the Special Committee who were appointed by Congress to inquire into the matter.

I have been enabled also to give, in a more condensed and available form, extracts from the valuable information relative to the Indians of the United States to be found in the annual reports of the Commissioners on Indian Affairs; whilst I have endeavoured, by quoting some of the speeches of the principal Indian chiefs, to convey an idea of the Red Man's attachment to the land of his forefathers, his devotion to the chase and a life of freedom, as well as his horror and dislike at being confined within the narrow limits of a reservation.

In conclusion, I would add that, having regard to our recent wars with the Maories of New Zealand, who number less than 50,000, it cannot fail to be a matter of interest to us to ascertain the mode of treatment adopted, and difficulties experienced by the United States' Government in connexion with their management of the more numerous as well as warlike aborigines of their country; and the accompanying sketch has been written with the design of supplying in a popular form some account of the more recent and important events connected with the hostile Indians of the United States.

THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA.

THE number of Indians of all descriptions at present inhabiting the United States is estimated at about 300,000. Two centuries ago they numbered upwards of two millions. Everywhere, and amongst all tribes (with the exception, perhaps, of the Dakotahs or Sioux), they are rapidly decreasing in numbers. This decrease arises from various causes; amongst the principal of which may be mentioned contagious diseases, intemperance, and wars, both amongst themselves and with the whites. The steady and resistless emigration of white men into the territories of the West, restricts the Indians yearly to still narrower limits, and, destroying the game, which in their normal state constituted their principal means of subsistence, reduces them to a state of semistarvation and desperation. The records of every tribe tell the same story of their gradual decrease and probable extinction. I will only refer to a few instances.

The once powerful tribe of the *Mandans* has almost ceased to exist; and the most numerous and civilized tribe of the Upper Missouri of the last century now numbers less than eighty lodges.

The *Pawnees*, who in 1832 were a powerful and warlike nation, numbering between ten and twelve thousand, were reduced in 1867 to less than three thousand.

The *Osages*, who reckon amongst their warriors some of the tallest and most stalwart Indians of the United States, have equally been reduced in number; whilst the *Delawares*, *Senecas*, and *Tuscaroras*, formerly the most numerous and highly civilized amongst the Indians of the Atlantic States, have almost entirely disappeared. Everywhere the Red Men of America are passing away, and giving place to the energetic and irrepressible Anglo-Saxon race.

General Kit Carson, the well-known mountaineer, and one of the best authorities on all Indian subjects, speaking of the decrease of the Indians, remarks:—

“When first I went to California, in 1829, the valleys were full of Indian tribes. Indians were thick everywhere, and I saw a great deal of some large and flourishing tribes. When I went there again, in 1853, they had all disappeared; and when I enquired about certain tribes I had seen on the very spot where I then stood, I was told by the people living there that they had never heard of them.”

Some idea of the ravages of smallpox in decimating the Indians may be obtained from the following account given in the preface to ‘*Travels in the Interior of North America*,’ by Maximilian, Prince of Wied. Writing in 1838, the author says:—

destroying angel has visited the unfortunate sons of the north with terrors never before known, and has converted the hunting-grounds, as well as the peaceful settlements of the Indians, into desolate and boundless cemeteries. The number of deaths within a few months is estimated at 30,000, and the pestilence is still spreading. The warlike spirit which but lately animated several Indian tribes, and, but a few months ago, gave reason for the breaking out of a sanguinary war, is broken. The Indians are now the prey of the greedy wolves of the prairie; the survivors, in mute despair, throw themselves on the pity of the whites, who, however, can do but little to help them. The vast army for the protection of the western frontier are superfluous; her arm has undertaken the defence of the white inhabited frontier; and the funeral torch that lights the red man's grave has become the auspicious star of the advancing empire of the roving trader of the white race.

The effects of the disorder were the most frightful among the tribes where it first broke out. That once powerful tribe, which, before the late disasters, had already been reduced to 1500 souls, was now reduced, with the exception of thirty persons. Their neighbouring tribes, the Indians and the Ricarees, were out on a hunting-party at the time of the breaking out of the disorder, so that it was not till a month later; yet half the tribe was already dead the 1st of October; and the disease continued to spread.

Those who were attacked recovered their health; but saw all their relations buried, and the pestilence still unabated fury among the remainder of their countrymen became a burden to them, and they put an end to their existence, either with their knives and muskets, or by precipitating themselves from the summit of the rock near their settlements. The prairie all round is a vast field of death, covered with bones, and spreading for miles pestilence and infection. The Indians and the Ricarees, lately amounting to 4000, are now reduced to less than the half. The Assineboins, 9000 in number, living over a hunting-territory to the north of the Mississippi, the trading-posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, are, in consequence of the expression, nearly exterminated. They, as the Sioux and Blackfeet, endeavoured to fly in all directions; but were everywhere pursued them. At last every feeling of compassion and tenderness seems to have disappeared. Every one kills the others. Women and children wandered about in quest of food for a scanty subsistence. The accounts of the fate of the Blackfeet are awful. The inmates of above 1000 of the lodges already swept away. They are the bravest and the most dangerous of the Indians, dangerous and implacable to their enemies, and kind to their friends. But very lately we seriously expected that a terrible contest with them was at hand, and that it would be the whole of their remaining strength against the whites. Every day brought accounts of new armaments, and of a new spirit of vengeance towards the whites: but the

smallpox cast them down, the brave as well as the feeble; and those who were once seized by this infection never recovered. It is affirmed that several bands of warriors, who were on their march to attack the fort, all perished by the way, so that not one survived to convey the intelligence to their tribe. Thus, in the course of a few weeks, their strength and their courage were broken, and nothing was to be heard but the frightful wailing of death in the camp. Every thought of war was dispelled, and the few that are left are as humble as famished dogs. No language can picture the scene of desolation which the country presents. In whatever direction we go, we see nothing but melancholy wrecks of human life. The tents are still standing on every hill; but no rising smoke announces the presence of human beings, and no sounds but the croaking of the raven and the howling of the wolf interrupt the fearful silence."

I cannot better describe the gradual encroachments of the whites, and their rapid occupation of the lands of the Indians, than by quoting the testimony of a Sioux chief, given at an Indian Council held a few years since. The Sioux chief is reported to have said:—

"When I was a young man (and I am now only fifty years old) I travelled with my people through the country of the Sac and Fox tribe to the great water Minne Tonkah (Mississippi), where I saw corn growing, but no white people. Continuing eastward, we came to the Rock-River valley, and saw the Winnebagoes, but no white people. We then came to the Fox-River valley, and thence to the Great Lake (Lake Michigan), where we found a few white people in the Pottawatomie country. Thence we returned to the Sioux country at the Great Falls (Ira or St. Anthony), and had a feast of green corn with our relations who resided there. Afterwards we visited the pipe-clay quarry, in the country of the Yankton Sioux, and made a feast to the 'great medicine,' and danced the 'sun dance,' and then returned to our hunting-grounds on the prairie. And now our 'father' tells us the white man will never settle on our lands and kill our game; but see! the whites cover all of these lands that I have just described, and also the lands of the Ponchas, Omahas, and Pawnees. On the south fork of the Platte the white people are finding gold, and the Arapahoes and Cheyennes have no longer any hunting-grounds. Our country has become very small, and, before our children are grown up, we shall have no more game."

There are, scattered over the whole of the territories west of the Mississippi and Missouri inhabited by the Indians, military posts of the United States' army, which are technically termed "forts," and which have been thus located with the view of controlling the Indians, and protecting the settlers and emigrants from their depredations.

The term "fort," as applied to military-posts on the frontier, has caused a very general misconception of their real character.

popular opinion, where it has not been corrected, that there are works of masonry, or, at least, extensive earth-works, in the style of the permanent fortifications in the West, in the more elaborate temporary works constructed so far as some localities during the late war. But such is not the case.

Fort Kearney, one of the oldest posts on the plains, is a fair sample of the other forts, is without any defence—not even a stockade. It consists simply of a group of two-story frame buildings, arranged in the usual form around a parade-ground which is the centre of the post, and the quarters for the officers and men. There are also other buildings, as storehouses, stables, sutlers' stores, &c. At some posts, however, in more dangerous localities, where the forts are surrounded by a stockade, and others where earthworks exist; but such are exceptions to the rule.

The system of forts protecting the Union Pacific Railroad, in the valley of the Platte, consists of Fort Kearney, Fort Union, Fort David Russell, near Cheyenne City, and Fort Collins, whilst those along the Smoky-Hill route are Fort T. Hayes, and Fort Wallace. All these forts have been named after celebrated and distinguished generals and

officers of the stations, also along the various lines of rail-roads, attacks from hostile Indians have been anticipated, but at the same time effective and formidable fortifications have been extemporized by the United States' soldiers at these stations in order to protect the road. These stations have been christened "Under-ground Monitors," and consist of semiunderground dwellings or huts, in the ground, and roofed over with the earth removed in the construction. Their elevation above ground rarely more than three feet, whilst they are loop-holed for rifles, and so constructed as to enable the sergeant and his five or six men stationed at these stations, so long as their ammunition lasts, to keep at bay hundreds of their red foes.

Soldiers of the United States are placed under the control of the Indian Bureau, a branch of the Interior Department of the Government, and are governed by means of agents and agents especially appointed for this purpose, the department being divided into superintendencies and

the fourteen superintendencies, viz. Washington, Arizona, Oregon, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, Colorado, Dakotah, Montana, Northern, Central, and Southern; and there are several independent agencies.

In California, Washington, and Oregon territories there are about 50,000 Indians.

Arizona and New Mexico contain a like number, consisting principally of the *Navajoes*, *Apaches*, and *Pueblo* Indians.

Nevada, Utah, and Colorado contain about 35,000, consisting of the different tribes of *Utes*, *Shoshones* or *Snake* Indians, and *Bannocks*.

Dakotah, Montana, and Idaho, the homes of the *Dakotah* or *Sioux*, *Black-feet*, and *Blood* Indians, contain about 60,000 of the most warlike and uncivilized Indians of the Plains; whilst the Indian territory, which is situated to the west of the State of Arkansas and between Texas and Kansas, contains about 60,000, consisting principally of the semicivilized tribes, including the *Creeks*, *Cherokees*, *Choctaws*, *Chickasaws*, *Osages*, *Seminoles*, *Winnebagoes*, *Pawnees*, *Pottawatomies*, and the *Sacs* and *Foxes*.

The wild *Kiowas* and *Comanches*, and the *Arapahoes* and *Cheyennes*, to whom, with some of the bands of the *Dakotahs*, I shall have occasion more particularly to refer, inhabit the country lying between the west of the Indian territory and the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and number about 10,000.

In addition to the tribes previously enumerated, there are also the *Chippewas*, or *Ojibbeways*, numbering some 20,000, who roam about the shores of Lake Superior and the banks of the Upper Mississippi; whilst the *New-York* Indians, consisting of the remnants of the celebrated *Six Nations*, together with other miscellaneous wandering tribes, number less than 10,000.

The statistics of the population of the various tribes of Indians in the United States in 1868 will be found in the Appendix.

No satisfactory classification of the Indian tribes has yet been made. That, however, which has been most generally adopted is the following:—

1. The *Algonquin* or *Ojibbeway Confederacy* occupied all the country to the frozen regions, north of a line commencing near Cape Fear, on the Atlantic, thence extending westerly to the mouth of the Illinois River, thence along that river and by way of Lake Michigan, Falls of St. Mary, Lake Superior, and rivers and portages to the Lake of the Woods, and thence westerly to the Rocky Mountains.

2. The *Mobilian*, or *Cherokee Confederacy*, occupying the country south of the line running westerly from Cape Fear to the north line of Tennessee, thence west to the Mississippi, thence by the Mississippi, Arkansas, and Canadian rivers to the Rocky Mountains.

3. The *O-chunk-o-raw*, or *Winnebago Confederacy*, extending from Lake Superior to the Arkansas River, including the Wis-

consin River and Lower Ohio, and extending west to the Rocky Mountains.

4. The *Dakotah*, or *Sioux Confederacy*, extending west to the Rocky Mountains from a line running from Kewenaw Bay to the north-eastern corner of the present State of Iowa.

The lines between the different Confederacies must be understood as only approximating to correctness, as Indian boundaries were never well defined.

These Confederacies were generally not confederacies of government, but were divided into a number of independent bands or tribes, often at open war with each other, and frequently unable to speak each other's dialects.

The most important and reliable works on the modern aboriginal races of North America are :—those by George Catlin, who spent eight years amongst them ; the voluminous collections of Indian legends and antiquities of Schoolcraft, who intermarried and resided with the Indians during forty years ; the three large folio volumes of 'Indian Tribes,' by M'Kenney and Hall, profusely illustrated by coloured lithographic portraits ; and the magnificently illustrated 'Travels in the Interior of North America in 1832 and 1833' of Prince Maximilian of Wied. In addition to the above, there are the annual Reports to the Senate of the United States of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, together with the reports of the Agents at the various superintendencies. These last-mentioned reports contain a valuable collection of statistics and facts relating to the Indians ; and as they are but little known and almost inaccessible in this country, whilst at the same time they are full of the most authentic and reliable information relative to Indians and Indian events which we possess, I shall, whenever practicable, use them as my authority.

The principal Indian events which have occurred within the last five or six years are the following :—

1. The Sioux massacre of whites in Minnesota in 1862, which resulted in the deaths of 644 men, women, and children, killed in the several massacres, and of 93 soldiers killed in battle.

2. The Sand-Creek or Chivington's massacre of Indians, which took place on the 29th November, 1864, when about 130 of the Cheyennes (principally women and children) were killed at Sand Creek, on the Little Arkansas River, by a large body of men under Colonel Chivington and Major Anthony.

3. Fetterman's massacre, which occurred on the 21st December, 1866, near Fort Phil Kearney, and resulted in the annihilation, by some of the Sioux Indians, under their celebrated chief, "Red Cloud," of Colonel Fetterman's command, consisting of upwards of 80 men and several officers.

4. The Indian war with the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, some of

the Brulé and Ogallalla Sioux Indians and Kiowas, and Comanches, of last autumn.

All the above events are intimately connected with each other; but before giving an outline of them, I propose to give a brief account of the various tribes engaged therein, together with some description of the country which they inhabit.

The hostile tribes of the prairie, who have been recently in conflict with the United States' Government, consist of several of the bands of the Dakotahs, or Sioux, the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes, the Kiowas, and Comanches. Although I have made the acquaintance of several of the friendly tribes, including the Pawnees, Osages, Utes, and Shoshones, yet I have never, except on one or two occasions, when I was in closer proximity than was either safe or agreeable, come into actual contact with the Indians who have recently been on the war path against the United States' Government.

The accounts, therefore, that I am enabled to give of these Indians have been condensed from the reports of others, who, in more peaceable times, have had better opportunities of investigating their characteristics, habits, and customs than have hitherto fallen to my lot.

Mr. Twiss, who is intimately acquainted with the Indians of the plains, describes them as follows:—

"The wild Indian of the prairies is not very much different from the wild Indian as described by the early colonists of the Atlantic States. The men are proud, haughty, independent, dignified in their bearing, observers of ceremony in their intercourse with the whites and with each other. They are taught to look upon manual labour as degrading and beneath the rank of the red man, whether he be chief, warrior, or brave. All the menial services and labour are performed by the women, who are real slaves to the men. The only education to the latter is on the war path, and the only labour the pursuit of game. Beyond these he has no subjects of thought, or exercise for his mental faculties; and, as a natural consequence, he is listless and idle for the greater part of his time.

"On the war path or in the chase he becomes intensely excited, and undergoes fatigue and suffers from want of food, from cold and thirst, watches his enemy or his game until he is certain of striking with deadly effect. Then, when he returns to his lodge, he joins in the war dance or in the feasts, and afterwards sinks into that apathy and indifference to all surrounding objects which has so often been observed and commented upon by the whites, and which to them appears so strange and singular that they judge, though erroneously, that the Indian is destitute of sensibility, feeling, or emotions. Yet the reverse is the truth. There is not to be found among any people a more cheerful, contented, and kindly disposed being than

the Indian when he is treated with kindness and humanity. His friendships are strong and lasting, and his love for, and attachment to his children, kindred, and tribe have a depth and intensity which place him on an equality with the civilized race. His love and veneration for the whites amount to adoration, which is only changed to hatred and revenge by oppression, cruelties, and deep wrongs and injuries inflicted upon the poor Indian by the white man without cause or reason.

"By his education on the war path, which leads to honour, fame, and distinction, the Indian is a relentless, a terrible enemy; he spares neither age nor sex, nor condition, but slaughters every one that falls in his path indiscriminately. He neither knows nor heeds the laws of modern warfare, as practised and observed by an enlightened civilization. As a consequence, the first yell of the war-whoop has scarcely died away in its distant echoes before a war of extermination is begun and waged against the poor Indian, and the innocent and guilty alike perish, and their bones are left to bleach on their own happy hunting-grounds. This is but a faint picture of Indian wars that have been waged for short periods in every State and Territory of the Union, and which will burst forth constantly until the power of the Government is exerted to remove lawless and desperate whites from the Indian country, and change the habits of the Indian from a roving and hunter life to one of agriculture and fixed habitations."

Mr. P. H. Conger, agent for the Yankton Sioux, assigns as the chief cause of the frequent Indian outbreaks, or wars, their education or ideas of what constitutes manhood.

"It may not be generally understood," says Mr. Conger, "that an Indian never becomes a man, according to their laws and usages, until he has struck an enemy—which means, has taken a scalp. Until such feat is accomplished by the young brave, he is counted by his tribe as but a woman; he is not allowed to sit in council nor to resent an injury offered him by any man; he is not even allowed to court a maid, as he himself is deemed a woman, which an Indian considers the greatest possible disgrace. Such being the condition and system established by untold years of practice, is it strange that the ambitious young Indian should, even in defiance of the commands of his grey-haired chief, or of the treaty obligations entered into by the old men of his nation (who had long ago received the distinction for which he pants), sometimes break over those slender barriers and snatch the coveted prize, the reward of which is the proud privilege of being counted a man, to sit in council with the most honoured of his nation, and to take to his lodge the maiden of his choice for his wife? This, then, is the condition. From a number of years of close observation and study of Indian character and customs, I am of opinion that nearly all of the old and leading men of all the tribes who have any knowledge of the government or the white man are disposed to peace, well understanding the utter folly of any attempt on their part to make war on the government or the

white race; but there will be risings, massacres, and secret murders perpetrated by the class of young men above described, in spite of the authority of the chiefs and head men, and in spite of all the troops that will be sent to their country, until this sentiment, this standard of what constitutes manhood, shall be changed, and they be taught that peace hath its victories as well as war, and that he only is truly great who is just and good. But generations must pass away before these wild sons of the plains shall forget their wilder sports, their wars, the dance, the chase, and turn to the tamer yet better pursuits of civilized life."

In describing the territory claimed by the hostile bands of Sioux, Arapahoes, and Cheyenne Indians, I cannot do better than quote the boundaries of the agency, as given by Mr. Thos. S. Twiss, the Indian Agent of Upper Platte. He says:—

"The boundaries of the agency of the Upper Platte, as claimed by the bands of Sioux, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes, parties to the treaty of 1851, entered from the 100th to the 107th degree of longitude, and from the 39th to the 44th parallel of latitude, being about 350 miles from east to west, and 350 miles from north to south, containing an area of 122,500 square miles—equal to six New-England States, New York, and New Jersey. The particular boundaries, as fixed and guaranteed by the treaty, were as follows.—

"1. On the east, by a line drawn from Old Fort Atkinson, at the crossing of the Arkansas, Santa Fé trail, to the forks of the Platte, which is very nearly a true meridian (the 100th degree); thence by a line drawn from the forks of the Platte to the mouth of White River, in the Missouri.

"2. On the north by White River, as far west as the 'bad land;' thence north-westerly to 'Bear Butte,' on the north fork of the Cheyenne River; thence along the dividing ridge which separates the waters of the north and south forks of the Cheyenne River, and also along the dividing ridge which separates the waters of the Yellowstone from those that flow eastwardly to the Missouri, to the 'Red Buttes,' on the North Platte.

"3. On the west by a line running on the dividing ridge which separates the waters of the Platte from the Rio Colorado, to the head-waters of the Arkansas.

"4. On the south by a line running from the head-waters of the Arkansas, along the dividing ridge which separates the waters of the said river from those of the south fork of the Platte, until it intersects the 100th degree of longitude.

"Containing some of the most fertile and productive lands of any prairie country west of the Mississippi, and capable of yielding largely grain and fruits of all kinds wherever it is possible to obtain artificial irrigation, the country may be denominated a rolling prairie. The larger rivers are wide and shallow, filled with fine sand, which is continually shifting, in many places having great depth, and making a difficult ford. The larger and smaller streams have uni-

formly high bluffs, or hills, on either bank, sometimes approaching to the water's edge, at others receding for miles."

From the Missouri River to Fort Kearney, a distance of about 250 miles, the country is of the same general character as the great prairie region of Illinois and the north-western States, high and rolling land, producing the prairie-grass very abundantly, and devoid of timber, excepting the narrow belts that border the streams. Settlements and farms have extended themselves along the routes of travel to about this distance.

From Fort Kearney, which is near the one-hundredth degree of west longitude, the character of the country changes. The situation remains essentially the same; it is high and undulating, even hilly in places; but the soil becomes more sandy, the summer rains more unfrequent, and, consequently, the grasses and timber scarcer, until it becomes, not literally, but substantially; a great desert, an immense area of sand-hills and sand-plains. Streams are long distances apart, and in the hot season dry up entirely, or sink in the sand. The only timber is an occasional grove of cottonwood on a creek, or patch of cedar on the sand-hills. Wherever moisture is found, the grasses grow abundantly and luxuriantly; but off the streams and out of the valleys they struggle vainly for life, in shrivelling and scattered bunches, among the cactus, or, further westward, among the *Artemisia* or wild sage. Sand, heat, barrenness, and aridity are the rule; water, shade, vegetation, and fertility the exception. These characteristics gradually increase, until the great desert sweeps up to the very base of the Sierra Madre, the easternmost range of the Rocky Mountains, in about the one-hundred and fifth degree of west longitude.

Across these plains, as they are generally termed, flows the Platte River, which rises in the Sierra Madre, and runs in a general easterly course to the Missouri. The Platte is a peculiar stream. Although nearly a thousand miles in length and very broad, it is so shallow as to be utterly unfit for navigation of any sort, becoming so low in a season of drought as to be little more than a bed of damp quicksand. But running, as it does, from the mountains to the Missouri River, in a wide, low valley, affording along its entire length a level road, some timber, and abundant good grass and water for stock, it has become the principal highway for transportation and emigration from the Mississippi valley towards the western territories and the Pacific.

The commissioners appointed by the President of the United States to effect treaties with some of the principal tribes of the Sioux, visited, in 1864 and 1865, the various tribes of Indians

of the north-west for the purpose of making treaties with such as had never made any, and renewing treaty arrangements with those who had been parties to the treaty of Laramie, 1851, which had then terminated by its limitation of fifteen years. The commissioners describe the country as follows :—

“The scope of country occupied by the tribes designated in the Executive order is the prairie region and buffalo-range of the north-west, bounded by the settlements of Minnesota, Dakota, and Nebraska on the east, the Platte River south, the Rocky Mountains west, and the British dominions on the north, covering about six leagues of longitude by six of latitude. Indeed many of the tribes extend their movements far beyond these limits. Their domain is the vast rolling-prairie country, where a short nutritious grass covers the surface, affording ample food, winter and summer, for the herds of buffalo, antelope, and other game upon which the Indians depend for their subsistence, shelter, and clothing.

“Central in this domain is an isolated spur of the Rocky Mountains, known as the ‘Black Hills,’ from which numerous streams flow in every direction, tributary to the Platte, Missouri, and Yellowstone.

“This mountain-region, and the valleys and hills adjacent to the streams, are the fastnesses to which the tribes resort in winter, or, in case of danger of war-parties, in summer, the latter grasses of the river-bottoms and the cottonwood timber that skirts these streams affording protection from storms and subsistence for their ponies. But usually, summer and winter, the Indians follow the buffalo-herds, making lodges and clothing of their skins, and food of their flesh.”

With regard to the tribes themselves, the commissioners report :—

“Our duties have brought us in council with the principal or head man of sixteen or eighteen of these prairie tribes, and some of our commission, well acquainted with the tribes occupying the prairie country south of the Platte, observe, as we do in these, a great uniformity of manners and customs, and a similar dependence on the roaming herds of buffalo. They and the buffalo seem to shun the white settlements and the timber-countries, being as closely identified with prairie soil as the peculiar grasses that grow upon it. These tribes of Indians, so different from the tribes of the forests with which we, in former centuries, have had occasion to deal, have never, until recently, been molested by the encroachments of white people. Traders have introduced among them blankets, tobacco, trinkets, sugar, and coffee; but such artificial wants are not universally adopted, the great masses adhering to the robes for clothing, kinnikinic for smoking, and buffalo meat, fresh or dry, for their subsistence.

“They are totally ignorant of agriculture and the arts, with a few exceptions, and seem as adverse to any arrangement which seems to localize them as the buffalo themselves.

“The Dakota or Sioux tribes comprise about half of the north-

west tribes; but these Sioux are divided in interest, general location, and feeling, so that we have made separate treaties with their tribes. Some of the other tribes speak a language similar to the Sioux; but generally they differ, and only understand signs which seem to give a common understanding of general subjects to all the tribes. There are friendly relations among some tribes, but eternal hostility seems to be the normal character of other tribes towards each other.

"As friends, they visit, feast, intermarry, and make war together; as enemies, they shun each other, resist territorial encroachments, and, in parties of from ten to a hundred, make incursions against foes, taking horses and a few scalps, after which achievements they return to rejoin in dances, which continue several days. This is their understanding of peace and war, never conceiving of a universal peace, or a united general war.

"The idea of peace between tribes who have always been at war is regarded by them as quite preposterous, and they accepted this clause of our treaties with great misgivings as to its success. They were very willing to try the matter, but say their old enemy cannot exist without war with them; and the idea of natural and eternal hostilities seems reciprocal between such ancient foes. War seems necessary to Indians as the only occasion for distinctions—their lodges, and blankets, and ornaments presenting everywhere some rude emblem showing the number of their victims, and their success in stealing horses. Their hostilities against each other are carried on with the same cruelties evinced towards white victims. We had painful exhibition of hands, feet, and scalps, taken from Indians, which tribes secured in an Indian conflict at Berthold, while we were there—the Indians claiming license to fight each other before treaties were concluded. Indeed there seems to be less inherent hostility towards whites than their own species; and most of them, in council and in presence of their comrades, boasted of their attachment to the whites, and presented with great pride all letters which they had obtained from whites recommending them. Indeed they attributed to us superior wisdom, and are only too much inclined to regard us as possessed of supernatural powers."

The Dakotahs or Sioux.—The *Dakotahs*, more frequently termed *Sioux*, and also called by the French "*Les Coupe-gorge*," or "Cut-throats," from their sign or symbol, which consists of drawing the lower edge of the hand across the throat, are the most powerful and warlike of all the Indian tribes. They are divided into the *Santees*, or upper bands, and the *Tetons*, or lower bands.

They are called by the Algonquin nations *Nadonessiou*, or "Enemies," which was subsequently abbreviated or corrupted to "Sioux," a common name for the tribe among the English and French traders for the last 200 years; it is, however, a mere nickname, and excessively disagreeable to the tribes to which it is applied. Captain Melinc narrates that, finding a

Sioux Indian seated amidst a crowd of soldiers near Fort Sully, he approached and asked him if he were a *Pawnee*? The *Pawnees* are the hereditary enemies of the *Dakotahs*.

Violent negation and expressions of disgust by the Indian.

"Sioux?" Reluctant and gruff assent.

"Then," said Captain Meline, "you are a *Dakotah*;" whereupon the Indian's features instantly relaxed, and grasping the Captain's hand, with "good, good, *Dakotah*!" he actually laughed with pleasure.

THE SANTEES, or Upper Bands, consist of the following bands:—

1. The *Wahpakoota*, or "Leaf-shooters."
2. *Mdevakanton*, or the "Village of the Spirit Lake," or "Mille Lacs."
3. *Wahpaton*, or the "Village in the Leaves;" and
4. *Sisseton*, the "Village of the Marsh."

The first two of these bands resided, in 1862, in Minnesota, and originated the massacre. They are called "Santees," from *Isanti*, because they once lived near *Isant Amde*, one of the *Mille Lacs*.

THE TETONS, or Lower Bands, comprise the following bands:—

1. The *Yankton*, or "The Village at the end."
2. *Yanktonai*, or "One of the End Village."
3. *Brulé*, or "Burnt-thighs."
4. *Two-kettle*, or "Two Boilings."
5. The *Sisapapa*, or "Black-feet."
6. *Minnecongou*, or "Those who plant by the water."
7. *Oncpapas*, or "They who camp by themselves."
8. *Sans Arcs*, or "No Bows."
9. *Ogallallas*, or "Bite-in-Twos."
10. *Assineboins*, or "Pot-boilers."

All of whom reside in *Dakotah Territory*. Some of the warriors of the *Brulé* or *Ogallalla* bands have been engaged in the recent war with the Government of the United States.

Catlin, writing from the mouth of the *Teton River*, a branch of the *Upper Missouri*, referring to these Indians, in 1833, says:—

"I am now in the heart of the country belonging to the numerous tribes of *Sioux* or *Dakotahs*, which is one of the most numerous in North America, and also one of the most vigorous and warlike tribes to be found, numbering some forty or fifty thousand, and able undoubtedly to muster, if the tribe could be moved simultaneously, at least eight or ten thousand warriors well mounted and well armed. This tribe take vast numbers of the wild horses on the plains towards the *Rocky Mountains*; and many of them have been supplied with guns; but the greater part of them hunt with their bows and arrows and long lances, killing their game from their horses' backs while at full speed. The personal appearance of these people is very fine

possessing, their persons tall and straight, and their movements elastic and graceful. Their stature is considerably above that of the Mandans and Riccarees, or Blackfeet; but about equal to that of the Arapahoes, Assineboins, and Minatarees, furnishing at least one or two warriors of six feet or more in height."

One of the Indian agents of the Upper Missouri, describing the seven bands of Sioux embraced in his agency, and numbering about 13,000, as follows:—

Powerful and warlike people—proud, haughty, and defiant—average six feet in height, strong muscular frames, and very brave men; well dressed, principally in dressed skins and robes; hunters and lodgers; have great abundance of meat, since the elk, antelope, and deer abound in their country. They say *Indians*, and do not wish to change their mode of living, but do not object to any arrangement by which their children are induced to live differently."

Burton describes them as follows:—

Siouxs are tall men, straight and well made; they are never lame and are rarely crippled, simply because none but the able-bodied live. The shoulders are high and somewhat straight; the back the reverse of the sailor's; that is to say, while the arms are straight and etiolated, the legs are tolerably muscular; they are often crooked or bowed in the equestrian tribes; they say they wanted the ligamentum teres; there is a general stiffness of limb, which promises, however, lightness, endurance, and strength, which, contrasted with the Caucasian race, suggests the wild compared with that of a tame animal. Like all savages, inefficient in corporeal strength; a civilized man finds no difficulty in handling them; on this road there is only one Indian (a white man) who can whip a white in a 'rough and tumble.' The temper is usually bilious-nervous; the sanguine is rare, the phlegmatic; and I never knew or heard of an albino. The hands, especially in the higher tribes, are decidedly delicate, but this is more in the male than in the female; the type is rather that of the African than of the European. The feet, being larger than the other extremities, and unconfined by boot or shoe, somewhat splay, spreading out immediately behind the toes, the heel is remarkably narrow. In consequence of being carried to the fore—the only easy position for walking through mud or tread, like the ant-eater, more heavily on the outer than the inner edge. The sign of the Indian is readily recognized by the experienced tracker."

As J. Galbraith, who lived for many years as Indian agent of the Sioux, gives the following characteristic description. This may be taken as the true representation of the Indian in contradistinction to the *ideal* Indian hero of the poetry:—

“And, first, it will be necessary to strip the Indian of the flagrant colouring of romance which has been thrown around him by sentimental poets and love-sick novelists, and present him *as he is*, a matter-of-fact being; for there is no man who knows Indians well who will disagree with me when I state that the Indian of the poets and novelists is a pure myth. I know little of other Indians except from history. Of the Sioux I know a little from observation. They are bigoted, barbarous, and exceedingly superstitious. They regard most of the vices as virtues. Theft, arson, rape, and murder are among them regarded as the means to distinction; and the young Indian from childhood is taught to regard killing as the highest of virtues. In their dances, and at their feasts, the warriors recite their deeds of theft, pillage, and slaughter as precious things; and the highest, indeed the only ambition of a young brave is to secure ‘the feather,’ which is but a record of his having murdered or participated in the murder of some human being—whether man, woman, or child it is immaterial; and, after he has secured his first ‘feather,’ appetite is whetted to increase the number in his cap, as an Indian brave is estimated by the number of his feathers. Without ‘the feather’ a young Indian gentleman is regarded as a squaw, and cannot get into society. Indeed, as a general rule, he cannot get a wife. He is despised, derided, and treated with contumely by all. The head-dress, filled with these feathers, and other insignia of blood, is regarded as ‘*wakan*’ (sacred), and no unhallowed hand, or woman, dare touch it. So, indeed, it is with all their instruments and evidences of crime. ‘The feather’ is the great goal of a Sioux Indian’s ambition.

“Often has it been asked ‘why do the Sioux kill the Chippewas so? why do they go to war so much?’ And who has ever received any decided answer? The general belief is that it is some old hereditary spite; but I feel safe in saying that no Sioux Indian ever gave such a reason, or, if he did, he was instructed so to do by some white man. When asked these questions they evade an answer; but on strict enquiry you can learn the true reason; and it is nothing more nor less than the ambition to kill somebody, and get ‘the feather.’ There is no other cause for it. There is no war or cause of war existing. ‘The feather’ is the cause of these malicious murders committed on the Chippewas, and to get ‘the feather’ they would just as soon kill anybody else as a Chippewa. They kill Chippewas and Omahas because they have been neighbours, and because they have been accustomed so to do from time immemorial. If they but dared, they had rather kill whites, because they regard the whites as a greater people than the Chippewas, and the more distinguished the victim the higher the character of the feather.

“To kill the agent, superintendent, a captain, colonel, or general, the Secretary of the Interior, or the President himself, would be a deed which would ennoble the murderer and his relatives for ever, and make them ‘*wakan*,’ and the distinguished assassin of one of these dignitaries would be voted a whole tail of a raven, a crow, or an eagle, according to the distinguished character of his victim.

during the recent campaign, a crow's tail was offered by Crow for the devoted scalp of Brigadier-General Sibley, whilst under him, ten feathers were offered for one, five for another, for others, according to their respective rank.

Idleness, too, is idolized among the Sioux braves; and labour is regarded as a debasing institution, only fit for squaws. And this code, a consonant code of morals, is taught to the Indians from childhood by their medicine-men and priests, and forms their code of customs.' By every means (by the father, the mother, the medicine-man, the priest, the chief, and all) these 'ancient customs' are taught and inculcated by precept and example, and ingrained in the young Indian from his first days of perception throughout his life.

These are his life, his existence, his religion; and not only taught and believed that the commission of these crimes, and the punishment, will ensure him temporal distinction, but his hopes for the future are founded on the same theory.

Ignorance, indolence, filth, lust, vice, bigotry, superstitious crime make up the ancient customs of the Sioux Indians, and they adhere to the code with a tenacity and stoicism indefinable. They are not brave in the proper acceptation of the term; on the contrary, they are most inveterate cowards. To sneak up, and, under the guise of friendship or cover of some protecting thing, to attack, is their habit. A square, 'up and down, face to face' fight, the Sioux Indians, as a general rule, will not make, unless it be against unarmed persons or greatly inferior numbers. To this rule there are few exceptions, but they are few; and yet, for the maintenance of their ancient customs and superstitions, they will suffer torture, and death, with a most remarkable stubbornness and stolidity, with all the apparent fortitude of a devoted christian.

The medicine-man, or sorcerer, and the Indian priest, by their prophecies, cheats, and incantations, stimulated by the hope of profit, and gain, encourage the Indians in this miserable system; and, being the recognized doctors of both body and soul, to maintain their position and ascendancy, teach them to be, and in most instances succeed in keeping them, ignorant, superstitious, and wicked creatures, degraded and all their habits and instincts, and always prepared to do any thing. This is the Sioux Indian as he is."

Maximilian, of Wied, who passed, amidst severe hardships, a winter amongst the Sioux of the Upper Missouri, received the decorations, mentioned by Mr. Galbraith, which the Sioux warriors were in the habit of wearing, says:—

All the North-American Indians, they highly prize personal distinction and therefore constantly wear the marks of distinction which they receive for their exploits. Among those are especially human hair attached to their arms and legs, and feathers on their heads; he who, in the sight of the adversaries, touches a slain enemy, places a feather horizontally in his hair for this

exploit. They look upon this as a very distinguished act, for many are often killed in the attempt before the object is attained. He who kills an enemy by a blow with his fist sticks a feather upright in his hair. If the enemy is killed with a musket, a small piece of wood is put in the hair, which is intended to represent a ramrod. If a warrior is distinguished by many deeds, he has a right to wear the great feather cap with ox-horns: this cap, composed of eagles' feathers, which are fastened to a long strip of red cloth hanging down the back, is highly valued by all the tribes on the Missouri; and they never part with it, except for a good horse.

"In a battle with the Pawnees a Sioux chief was killed who wore such a cap; the conqueror wore it as a trophy, and the Sioux recognized him by it in the next battle: they made great efforts to kill him, and succeeded in wounding him; but his horse was too fleet for them, and he always escaped."

Mr. J. R. Hanson, the Indian agent for the Upper Missouri Superintendency, writing, in July 1867, of the Indians under his charge, comprising nine bands of the Tetons or Lower Siouxs, and numbering in the aggregate about 13,500, says, with reference to the progress of these tribes:—

"A very general desire to plant seems to prevail among the Lower Brulés, Two-kettles, Minneconjons, Sans Arcs, Lower Yanktonais, Blackfeet, and Uncpapa bands. This is a cheering evidence, not only of a desire to maintain terms of friendship with the government, but also to better their own miserable condition and avert some of the suffering which visits them every winter like a terrible scourge entailed upon their existence, carrying many to the grave. Indians have a natural aversion to every kind of manual labour, save, alone, such as attaches to the pursuits of war and the chase. For a man to perform any other kind of labour is to them an hereditary notion of inferiority: the chase is their natural vocation; and it is not surprising that they are slow to renounce it; for a certain fascination attends the 'surround,' the 'dash,' and the 'pursuit' of the huge animal, having just enough danger to give the keenest zest to the labour. There is still left in the civilized man enough of the savage to enjoy a buffalo-hunt. What, then, should be expected of an Indian?"

The same gentleman, speaking of the causes of war and the best mode of securing a permanent peace, says:—

"But a few years ago the entire Sioux nation was at peace with all whites; a white man could travel from east to west, from north to south, so far as their domain extended, and feel that he was in a land of friends and safe. Now no one ventures a mile from a post without an escort, or a fleet horse and a good revolver. To those familiar with the history of the past ten years of these 'Indians,' this state of affairs is not surprising. It is the natural result of the causes which have been at work during this time.

rings of discontent, fears of the encroachment of the white been arising and increasing throughout the Sioux nation Yankton cession of 1858, when they saw a large tract of try, embracing some of their best hunting-ground, snatched possession; and later, when the discovery of gold in the st caused a stream of immigration to flow through the In-ry, they became fully aroused to the danger which seemed the destruction of their game, their means of support, ually, the loss of their entire country. Then it was that portion of these bands, making common cause with other bands, began the savage war signalized by the most re-ts of barbarity. It was not for other wrongs the white lone them; it was not for revenge, nor yet from any innate pill the blood of whites; but it was to drive back this im-and save their country. We have had but little trouble tion (Dakotah), because immigration has been in another and it is along those routes they have mustered their eep back the invaders. Had the course of immigration this direction, here would have been the field of war. e done, bring every hostile Sioux to a council to-day, and consideration would induce you to give up the war and peace? they would say, '*Stop the white man from travelling lands, give us the country which is ours by right of con-inheritance, to live in and enjoy unmolested by his encroach- l we will be at peace with all the world.*'"

Cheyennes.—The Cheyennes, also called *Paikandoos* or *ists*," are described by Catlin as a small tribe about number, living as neighbours to the west of the Sioux, the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains. "There is ace of men than these in North America, and none in stature, excepting the Osages, there being scarcely the tribe full-grown who is less than six feet in height. undoubtedly the richest in horses of any tribe on the ; living in the country, as they do, where great herds orses are grazing on the prairies, which they catch in mbers and vend to the Sioux, Mandans, and other well as to the fur-traders. These people are a most set of horsemen and warriors also, having carried on t unceasing war with the Pawnees and Blackfeet from of mind."

riend, Professor F. V. Hayden, writing of them in when he visited them, says:—

aratively little has been published in regard to this tribe s, and their former history is quite obscure. The few facts cordinated seem to render it very probable that they emigrated north and north-east to their present location; but I can liable account of their movements or their history in any

works within my reach. How so important and interesting a tribe of Indians has escaped the notice of travellers, is a matter of some surprise. Even the indefatigable Schoolcraft was unable to obtain any extended account of them. From my own personal observations, and from all the sources within my reach, I have constructed the following brief sketch of this tribe.

"This nation has received a variety of names from travellers and the neighbouring tribes, as Shyennes, Shiennes, Cheyennes, Chayennes, Sharas, Shawhays, Sharshas, and, by the different bands of the Dakotahs, Shai-én-a, or Shai-é-la, the meaning of which is not known. On the Missouri River, near latitude 45° and longitude 101°, is the entrance to the Great Cheyenne River, one of the most important branches of the Missouri. It takes its rise in the divide between the valley of the Yellowstone and that of the Missouri, and is called by the Dakotah Indians Wash-té-wah-pa, or Good River. About thirty miles below the eastern base of the Black Hills is the junction of two important branches, called the North and South Forks of the Shyenne. Uniting, they form the Great Shyenne, as before mentioned. The country bordering this river, from its mouth to the junction of the two forks, is underlain by the black, plastic, saline clays of the cretaceous system, and is, consequently, for the most part, arid and barren. The bottoms, however, forming the immediate valley are clothed with grass, and furnish a supply of fuel sufficient for all the wants of the Indian. Game is also abundant, as elk, deer, and antelope; and in former years vast herds of buffalo roamed over this region—though, at the present time, only now and then a stray bull is seen along this river from mouth to source. In the vicinity of the Black Hills, the clear, beautiful streams that flow from the mountains swarm with beaver, the prairies are covered with antelope, and the wooded valleys and hills are favourite resorts for elk and deer, the whole rendering this country one of the most delightful spots to the Indian. A little further up the river, a small stream flows into the Missouri from the north, which is called the Little Shyenne. These streams evidently derived their names from the fact that they drain the country once occupied by this tribe of Indians.

"Those enterprising travellers Lewis and Clarke give us no extended account of the Shyennes, and simply allude to them in their Journal. On their map attached to their report, they locate them near the eastern base of the Black Hills, in the valley of the Great Shyenne River, and state the number at fifteen hundred souls. They also speak of the remains of their old villages along the Missouri, which seem to show the course of their migrations. Near the mouth of a little stream named by them 'Chayenne' Creek they observed 'a circular work or fort, where the Sharsha or Cheyennes formerly lived.' There are also, on one of the banks of the Red River of the North, the remains of an old village of the Shyennes, with an important stream bearing their name. All these forts show quite clearly that the Shyennes either gradually and slowly migrated from the far north to their present location, in search of better hunting-grounds,

driven by the superior strength of their more numerous
rs. We have the statements of persons now living in that
that the Dakotahs drove them from the Missouri to their
osition.

Kenridge, in his Journal of a tour up the Missouri River in
s of these Indians that they are a 'wandering nation on the
the Shyenne River; trade with the Arikaras; speak a dif-
guage from any nation I know; their complexion very
ay trade also with the Spaniards, and have a great number

re are many instances of Indians possessing several wives,
to fifteen; but jealousies are constantly arising, and are
neck only by force on the part of the husband. Every wo-
ces when she finds she is the only lawful wife; and when
cts that her husband meditates the taking of a second, she
very obstacle in the way, first by renewed attentions and
to her husband, and then by creating difficulties with the
wife. When an Indian takes several wives, he usually se-
as his favourite. She may be a young woman, or the first
he mother of his children. The remainder are intended
laves, to dress robes and to perform the drudgery of the

Shyennes are a proud race, large and well formed, more like
ahs than any tribe I am acquainted with on the Missouri.
at peace with the Dakotahs, and have become so inter-
ow, that it is hardly probable that they will ever break
dly relations. So many of them speak the Dakotah lan-
t their own language is not used at the present time in
affairs. I have never heard of but one white interpreter
Indians; and he has long since left them, his knowledge of
age being of no pecuniary benefit to him.

Shyennes, like the Dakotahs, are rigid in regard to the fidelity
omen. When a woman proves false to her husband, which
mon, she is punished with great severity, and not uncom-
h death. When a young man sees a woman fair to look
one which his heart desires, he at once commences to ap-
s. If he succeeds in seducing the woman to elope with
nmediately escapes to another tribe or band, and if he
ray, nothing is said or done about the matter; but if he
some instances the injured husband kills him, though
e man who decoyed away the wife gives to the former
horse and other presents, and he and a number of their
ends gather together at the lodge of the first husband, who
latter a pipe, and they all smoke together. The injured
en says that his heart was bad, but has now become good,
st is forgotten."

ncipal chiefs of this tribe are:—

ve-to, or "Black Kettle," who was killed at the Bat-
hita, the Head Chief.

Hark-ka-o-me, or "Little Robe."

Moke-tah-oo-ve-ho, or "Black White Man."

Man-a-men-ek, or "Eagle-head."

Mak-sten-a, or "Big Head."

Nah-a-sto-ke, or "Bear-killer;" and

Voh-is-to, or "White Buffalo."

The Arapahoes.—The Arapahoes, sometimes called "Dirty-noses," from their sign, which consists in seizing the nose with the thumb and fore finger, are described by Burton as follows:—

"The Arapahoes, generally pronounced Rapahoes (called by their Shoshonee neighbours Sháretikeh, or Dog-eaters, and by the French Gros Ventres) are a tribe of thieves, living between the south fork of the Platte and the Arkansas Rivers. They are bounded north by the Sioux, and hunt in the same grounds with the Cheyennes. This breed is considered fierce, treacherous, and unfriendly to the whites, who have debauched and diseased them, while the Cheyennes are comparatively chaste and uninfected. The Arapaho is distinguished from the Dakotah by the superior gauntness of his person, and the boldness of his look; there are also minor points of difference in the moccasins, arrow-marks, and weapons. His language, like that of the Cheyennes, has never, I am told, been thoroughly learned by the stranger; it is said to contain but a few hundred words, and these, being almost all explosive growls or guttural grunts, are with difficulty acquired by the civilized ear."

Professor Hayden, writing of the Arapahoes in 1859–60, says:—

"The past history of the Arapahoes is but little known.

"I have searched all the works within my reach, and I cannot ascertain with certainty their track of migration. Gallatin speaks of them as a detached tribe from the Rapid or Fall Indians, which has wandered as far south as the Platte and the Arkansas, and formed a temporary union with the Kaskaias and some other erratic tribes. At the present time the Arapahoes are divided into two portions or bands. The first portion call themselves 'Na-ka-si'-nin,' 'People of the Sage,' and number one hundred and eighty lodges. They wander about the sources of the South Platte and the region of Pike's Peak, also northward to the Red Buttes on the North Platte. Sometimes they extend their journeyings in search of buffalo along the foot of the Big-horn Mountains in the Crow country. They spent a large portion of the winter of 1859 and 1860 on the branches of Powder River, near the base of the Big-horn Mountains. The second band call themselves 'Na-wuth'-i-ni-han,' the meaning of which is obscure. It implies a mixture of different kinds of people of different bands. They number two hundred lodges, and range along the Arkansas River and its tributaries.

"The Rev. Dr. Morse thus speaks of these Indians in 1820:—'Their

estimated at 10,000. Their country extends from the south of the Kansas, south to the Rio del Norte. They are a warlike people, and often make predatory and murderous excursions into the eastern and northern neighbours.' Since that time notice seems to have been taken of them."

treacherous and bloodthirsty, and thoroughly migratory habits. At a moment's notice they

"Fold their tents like the Arabs,
And as silently steal away."

has been greatly decreased in number, and is now almost extinct, from wars and that terrible scourge the small-

on the also grounds of complaint against the United States' treaty for non-fulfilment of the treaty entered into with the Indians in 1811. Mr. H. P. Bennet, a delegate for Colorado, in a report made by him to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in January 1864, prefers the following request on behalf of the Indians:—

a treaty was made with the Upper Arkansas band of Indians, by which they relinquished all their right and title to a tract of valuable land for certain considerations, among which was that they should be protected in the peaceful possession of their homes on a reservation upon the Arkansas River. Three years have elapsed, and they are still wanderers from their lands; on which their forefathers depended for subsistence, are driven away by the encroachment of the whites upon their lands, and already the red man finds hunger and starvation in his face; for this and many other reasons the Indians are anxious to commence the cultivation of their lands, which they cannot do, as a military reservation has been established there by the War Department within a few months, and so located them on the very lands they wish to occupy; therefore the troops stationed at Fort Lyon, C. T., may be re-located on the reservation to some other point where they will be more useful in preserving the peace, and preventing any outbreak between the Indians and the whites. The chiefs are, as I am informed, all anxious to remain on friendly terms with their white brothers; and they themselves have no fear, but it is for their young men that they speak. If they are allowed to visit military posts, and if they are restrained from getting drunk with *whisky*, and their women from getting greatly depressed by these misfortunes they make this request."

in the autumn of the same year, 1864, they were forced into hostilities by the acts of the commanding officers at that time. Their chiefs were fired on whilst on post with a flag of truce to offer their services to

revisit the troops, to recover stock that had been run off on the previous day by the Kiowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes.

Their Head Chief is "*Oh-nas-tie*," or "Little Raven." Mr. Richardson, who was in the habit of seeing him frequently in 1865, describes him as follows:—

"The savage, like Falstaff, is a coward on instinct—also treacherous, filthy, and cruel. But one chief, the 'Little Raven,' was the nearest approximation I ever met to the Ideal Indian. He had a fine manly form, and a human trustworthy face. To spend an hour in our cabin was his custom always of an afternoon; and though his entire ignorance of English was only equalled by my innocence of Arapahoe, we held pleasant communion together. Our conversations were carried on by signs and the very few words we had in common. The tongue was weak, but the gesticulation eloquent."

The other principal chieftains of this tribe are:—

Oh-hah-mah-hah, or "Storm."

Ah-hah-wat-tan, or "Black Man."

Chie-e-nuk, or "Haversack."

Nah-a-nat-cha, or "Round Chief;" and

Nah-kin-ne-ha-na, or "Yellow Rabbit."

The Kiowas and Comanches.—The Kiowas and Comanches are wild and roving Indians, whose range extends over a large part of Western Texas and into New Mexico, and up as far north as the Arkansas.

The two tribes in 1867 numbered 2800. The Kiowas, or "Prairie men," make the signs of the prairie and of drinking water. Catlin, when he visited them, describes them as being a much finer race of men than either the Comanches or Pawnees, tall and erect, with an easy and graceful gait, with long hair, cultivated frequently so as to reach nearly to the ground. He states that they have usually a fine and Roman outline of head, and decidedly distinct from both the Comanches and Pawnees, as well as their language.

The Kiowas have the reputation, and doubtless deserve it, of being the most rapacious, cruel, and treacherous of all the Indians of the plains. They range mainly south of the Arkansas on the Canadian, and south of the Rio Grande. They have the credit of influencing the Comanches to do whatever they suggest.

The Comanches, or Camanches (*Les Serpents*), imitate, by the waving of the hand or fore finger, the forward crawling motion of a snake.

In statue they are rather low, and in person often approach to corpulency.

fierce, untamed savages roam over an immense region, the raw flesh of the buffalo, drinking its warm blood, and the Mexicans, Indians, and whites with judicial impartiality—Arabs and Tartars of the desert, they remove their lodges in regular streets and squares) of miles at the shortest notice. The men are short, with bright copper faces and long hair, which they wear with glass beads and silver gewgaws.

slow and awkward, but on horseback graceful, they are the most expert and daring riders in the world. In battle they rush down upon their enemies with terrific yells, and, with the whole body, with the exception of one foot, bearing down, discharge bullets or arrows over and under the neck rapidly and accurately. Each has his favourite horse, which he regards with great affection, and only mounts to battle. With small arms they are familiar; but with muskets or cannons, they hold in superstitious fear, from the memory of one fired among them long ago by a Government which they attacked upon the Missouri. Even the most daring riders and hunters, lassoing antelope and buffalo. They wear the hair short, tattoo their bodies, and have stolid faces, and are ill-shapen and bow-legged. A Comanche would show special fondness for an Indian, and when he folds him in a pair of dirty arms, and rubs a face against the suffering victim's.

Modern Spartans are most expert and skilful thieves. They have boasted to Marcy that his four sons were the best in the tribe, and the chief comfort of his age, for they steal more horses than any of their companions.

patient and untiring—sometimes absent upon war for two years, refusing to return until they can bring home a scalp of battle. When organizing a war party, the chief carries a long pole with eagle-feathers and a flag, and then, in costume, chants war songs through his village. He leads his raids upon white settlers; but his favourite victims are the Comanches. Like all barbarians, he believes his tribe the most virtuous and powerful on earth, and, whenever our country supplies him with blanket, sugar, or money, attributes the gifts solely to fear of Comanche prowess. He is very revengeful; the slightest injury or affront will have him seek vengeance. An American writer saw one chief punish the infidelity of his wife by placing the muzzle of his gun over her crossed legs, and firing a bullet through them both.

When the warrior is buried on some high hill in sitting posture, face to the east, his choicest buffalo robe about his waist, and the rest of his wardrobe deposited by his side. His

relatives mourn by lacerating themselves with knives, or cropping their hair, and, if he was killed in disastrous battle, by clipping the manes and tails of their horses and mules.

On vast deserts the Comanches convey intelligence hundreds of miles in a few hours. By day, green pine, fir, or hemlock boughs piled upon burning wood produce a heavy black smoke, which is seen far away; and at night they telegraph by bonfires. Their signals are as well defined and intelligible as those of civilized navies—smokes and fires with stated intervals between indicating the approach of enemies, or calling the roving bands together for any purpose whatever.

They are inveterate smokers, mingling dried sumach leaves with tobacco; and they drink whisky to excess. When needful, they easily abstain from food for days together, but afterwards eat fresh meat in incredible quantities.

Never tilling the ground, insensible alike to the comforts and wants of civilization, daring, treacherous, and bloodthirsty, they are the destroying angels of our frontier, the mortal terror of weaker Indians and of Mexicans. According to tradition, their ancestors came from a far country in the west, where they expect to join them after death.

Catlin says of them:—

“In their movements they are heavy and ungraceful; and on their feet one of the most unattractive and slovenly looking races of Indians I have ever seen; but the moment they mount their horses, they seem at once metamorphosed, and surprise the spectator with the ease and grace of their movements. A Comanche on his feet is out of his element, and comparatively almost as awkward as a monkey on the ground, without a limb or branch to cling to; but the moment he lays his hand upon his horse, his *face* even becomes handsome, and he gracefully flies away like a different being.”

Catlin describes them as “a numerous and very powerful tribe,” and estimates their warriors at 6000 or 7000; but this was, no doubt, excessive.

No doubt many of the charges of outrages and depredations against these tribes are true. An inveterate prejudice seems to exist among those bands who are not under treaty obligations against the people of Texas, arising mainly from the fact that the country was once owned and peopled by a race (the Mexicans) whom they had ever regarded and treated as enemies. They cannot comprehend that the annexation of Texas made its people citizens of the United States, whom they are bound to respect and refrain from acts of hostility or depredations against them.

Mr. J. W. Whitfield, the Indian Agent for these tribes, gives

ving account of them in 1855, whilst he offers sound advice as to the only sure mode of treatment to be towards the Indian people :—

Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Aarapahoes, and Cheyennes scattered, and in a state of great confusion, by no means on themselves, and uncertain of their position in reference to the Government. I used every means in my power to pacify them and to reconcile them to the United States. How far I succeeded I am unable to say with certainty; but I presume that the result will have to do as all others did previously to this, that is, to pay toll in the way of sugar and coffee, and articles as suit their fancy.

The story of our Indian affairs clearly proves that the Indians cannot be bought; and I still entertain the opinion that but a sound chastisement will have the effect of bringing them to the plains to their senses. Make them fear you, and manage them at discretion; but every present made them as an acknowledgment of their superior power, and given them their wrath. At this time they have no respect for the Government.

* * * * *

tribes are now confined to a district of country from which the buffalo has almost entirely disappeared, and the smaller game which it is too shy and too fleet to be killed with bows and arrows, and even with fire-arms it would be a scant, a precarious, and a diminishing means of subsistence which those sterile prairies afford. If the hunters of these tribes venture into the country of the buffalo, they are liable at any moment to come into contact with the border Indians, the Osages, Delawares, and others, who have their own hunting-grounds all the lands over which they roam. When such meetings occur, sanguinary fights follow, in which the border Indian, owing to the superiority of his arms, and his skill in the use of them, is sure to be the

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have not made one step in the direction of civilized life; they have nothing of agriculture, have no domestic animals except dogs, no agricultural implements, nor knowledge of the use of them if they had. Under these circumstances, it is at once evident that their situation is desperate. In the absence of other food they are fed upon their horses and mules until the numbers of these animals have fallen below their needful supply; and hence they are forced to forays into Old and New Mexico for the purpose of obtaining their stock. Starvation is constantly staring them in the face, and it is a fate to which the most tutored citizen or subject of a civilized society does not submit without a struggle. No wonder, then, that the wild and untaught savage should resist it with all the skill and the art of which he is master.

the opinion which I would impress upon the Government is,

that one of three alternatives must be embraced. The *first* is to wage a war of extermination against these unfortunate beings, and so be done with them at once and for ever. However shocking to humanity such a course may appear, it is less so than the *second*, which is, to let matters proceed as they are now going, until, by the combined and gradual operation of famine, disease, domestic broil, and outside pressure, the same fate, that of utter extinction, shall have overtaken them, the travel and commerce of the plains having, in the meantime, been subject to constant interruption and annoyance. The *third*, and it is in strict conformity to the humane and philanthropic spirit of the age, is to feed these people until such time as, by the introduction amongst them of knowledge and habits suitable to their condition, they shall be able to provide for their own subsistence.

"It is now an ascertained fact that wherever the buffalo can live, the domestic ox will live in like ease and good condition. The region of country occupied by these nomad tribes is precisely that in which the former animal has heretofore most abounded, being that of the short grass, which still constitutes his principal, if not his sole food in winter. It is capable of sustaining upon animal food alone as dense a population as exists anywhere in the world. It is emphatically the pastoral region of America, destined, when it shall have become the abode of civilized men, to be the seat of wealth, health, ease, art, and refinement. But, not to indulge in speculations not demanded by the occasion, I come at once to the main purpose which I have in view: it is to urge the propriety of the Government's supplying those Indians with the means of entering at once upon a course of pastoral life. With a liberal supply of grown-up animals for present consumption, and of cows and bulls for breeding, their plains could in a few years be stocked far beyond their own wants, and all motives for depredating on the property of others would thus be withdrawn.

* * * * *

"Expensive as a compliance with these recommendations would undoubtedly be, it would yet prove less so than either a war of extermination, or the maintenance of a sufficient force to hold these tribes constantly in check. Simply as a means of saving them from starvation, it is probably the most economical that could be devised, whilst on the score of humanity it bears no comparison with a war, whether of extermination or of mere coercion. The fact must not be lost sight of, however, that in order to do anything calculated to result in benefit to these deluded creatures, they must be whipped into submission: at present they hold the American Government and people in the utmost contempt; and until they shall be set right in this particular, it is folly, and worse than folly, to attempt to maintain friendly relations with them."

The principal chief of the Kiowas is Satanta, or "White Bear." In cunning and native diplomacy he has no rival.

In wealth and influence the Dakota Chief, "Red Cloud," is

but in boldness, daring, and merciless cruelty, Satanta superior. If a white man does him an injury, he never m; but if, on the other hand, the white man has done vice, death alone can prevent him from paying the

is described by Mr. Kitchin, who visited him in 1864,

a fine-looking Indian, very energetic, and as sharp as a and all his people treated me with much friendship. I ls regularly three times a day with him in his lodge. He od deal of style—spreads a carpet for his guests to sit painted fire-boards, twenty inches wide and three feet ented with bright brass tacks driven all round the edges, use for tables. He has a brass French horn, which he usly when the meals were ready."

the principal Chiefs of the Comanches are "Ten Silver Brooch," "Wolf's Name," "Little Horn," Mountain."

x Outbreak and Massacres of 1862.—Having described e hostile and friendly tribes, as well as the country it, I will now give a short account of the massacre in

our outbreak and massacre in Minnesota of 1862 in the general dissatisfaction of the Indians at some aties entered into with them, the neglect of the o make the payments to which they were entitled at time, and to the war fever which had been excited by of the defeat of General M'Clellan, coupled with the e Indians that nearly all the white men had left their o to the war.

ments to the Sioux Indians of their annuities by the . Galbraith, should have been made early in July. f 4000, consisting of the Upper Bands, and also a few kttons, assembled during the early part of July at Mr. agency; and after having applied repeatedly in vain nnuities, and being, from the limited supply of pro- a state of starvation, they on the 4th of August broke arehouse, and carried off about 100 sacks of flour. A sterwards the Indians received their annuity goods and provisions, whereupon the greater portion of them ir homes. Whilst at the agency, they heard of the teneral M'Clellan in the peninsula, and of the call of ent for 600,000 more troops.

e immediate cause of the outbreak, however, was the

killing, on Sunday, the 17th August, by some young men belonging to a hunting-party of "Sha-ka-pee's band," whilst in a state of intoxication, of some white persons of the name of Jones, from whom they had obtained the whisky with which they had become intoxicated.

On the return of these Indians to their village at Rice Creek, they called a council of the tribe, and are reported to have said as follows:—We have killed white men, and, if caught, must die; let us unite now, and kill the whites at the agency. The whites are all gone to the war, except the old men, women, and children; we can kill them all, take their property, and repossess ourselves of our lands." This harangue had the desired effect, and Sha-ka-pee's band were subsequently joined by the principal warriors of the Sissiton and Wah-pay-ton bands. The leader of the hostile bands was a chief of the Mdewakanton Sioux, called "Little Crow." His proper Indian name was *Tshe-wa-ku'-wa-ma'-ni*, or "The Hawk that hunts walking." He had not only visited Washington, and was supposed to be friendly to the whites, but had promised to have his hair cut and become civilized; and at the time of the massacre the Government were engaged in building him a house.

Many of the Chiefs, the farmer Indians, and older men, friendly to the whites, remonstrated, and strongly objected to war with the whites, but in vain; the die was cast, and madness ruled the hour. Early on Monday, the 16th of August, the work of death and devastation began, and spread rapidly throughout the northern part of Minnesota.

On the following day the Indians attacked the agency. Captain Marsh, with about fifty soldiers, left Fort Ridgley, which was distant some fifteen miles, to render assistance, but was attacked at the ford near the agency, when his force was cut to pieces, with the loss of the captain and twenty-three men.

The Indians subsequently made repeated attacks on the village of New Ulm, and also on Fort Ridgley; but although they fought with the most obstinate bravery, and exhibited the greatest recklessness of life, they were successfully repelled.

In the meantime, small bands spread over the adjoining country and committed the most frightful murders and atrocities. In these raids, they captured a large number of white women and children.

On the 23rd of September, Colonel Sibley, who, having succeeded in arming new troops, had marched to the relief of the settlers, was attacked near Wood Lake whilst in camp, and soon after sunrise, by the Indians in force. The latter occupied the high grass, and disguised themselves by tying tufts of grass around their heads and waists. The battle lasted until nearly

noon, when the Redskins, who had congregated in a ravine, were charged by the 7th Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, under Lieut.-Colonel Marshall, and thoroughly routed. No quarter was given to them; and their repeated cry of "Me good Indian!" was only answered with the thrust of a bayonet and a curse.

The Indians afterwards retreated to the wilds of the Upper Missouri River, where they intrenched themselves, and sent a flag of truce to Colonel Sibley, offering to surrender, together with their prisoners, consisting of some 150 women and children. This offer of surrender was not accepted, but Colonel Sibley surrounded them, took possession of their camp, and relieved the white prisoners.

A military commission subsequently tried the Indians who had either surrendered or been captured, and convicted and sentenced three hundred and three to be hung, and eighteen to imprisonment for life, this being the greater part of all the male prisoners who had been captured.

The total number of Indian captives at this time amounted to about 1800; but these consisted almost exclusively of women and children.

The finding of the Commission was sent to Washington for the approval of the President. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs remonstrated against the execution of this severe sentence against prisoners captured in war; but the President ratified the finding in the case of thirty-eight of the most guilty, who were accordingly hung at Camp Lincoln, near Mankato, on the day following Christmas Day, viz. the 26th of December, 1862.

The Indians ascended the scaffold singing their death-song; and, standing in one long line, and clasping each other by the hand, they were sent to their final hunting-grounds.

The remainder of the captive Sioux, consisting almost entirely of women and children, were shipped, in May 1863, to Crow Creek, about 100 miles above Fort Randall, on the Missouri.

The following statement of the condition of these Indians is extracted from the report of the Commissioners deputed specially to inquire into the condition of the Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri, in 1866:—

"The undersigned deem it proper also to represent the miserable state of the Sioux Indians, principally women and children, who were taken prisoners in 1862, after the outbreak in Minnesota, and transported the following spring to the Crow Creek reservation, on the Missouri River. Concurrent evidence, of the most reliable character, shows these helpless creatures to have been kept in a condition of semi-starvation for the two years following their arrival at their new home, during which period *several hundred have died from actual*

want, or from disease superinduced by it. There are about a thousand remaining on the reservation, of whom only *one-tenth are men, mostly aged and infirm*. Even now, although every effort seems to have been made by the superintendent and agent to secure a proper supply, these people are receiving an amount of subsistence barely sufficient to sustain life. It is earnestly recommended that the most prompt and efficient means be adopted for the relief of these wretched dependents upon the mercy of the Government. While apparently willing and anxious to aid in supporting themselves by farming, the experience of two of the three seasons they have spent in that locality has demonstrated that there is no reliance to be placed upon the products of the ground. In fact, labour in that direction seems to meet with no corresponding return, in consequence of the prevailing drought and poor soil."

The hostilities in Minnesota were confined almost entirely to the two bands indicated by the Wahpakoota or Mdewakanton, the Yanktons and all the other Teton or lower bands of Sioux giving no aid to their brothers in arms. Many also of the chiefs of the hostile bands rendered services of great merit to the whites. Amongst those who thus distinguished themselves may be enumerated the following :—

Other Day, who guided 62 missionaries and employées of Yellow Medicine and Hazelwood to Shakapee village, near St. Paul.

Taopi, or wounded man, a chief who was the leader in the rescue of 250 prisoners.

Paul Maza-ker-ta-mane, who openly denounced in council the hostile Indians, and at all times, at the risk of his life, declared his fidelity to the whites.

To-wante-toma, called Lorenzo Lawrence, who "at the risk of his life rescued the white captives, and brought them to Fort Ridgley."

Simon An-ang-mani, who rescued four captives and brought them to Fort Ridgley.

Wah-kin-yan-wash-to, or "Good Thunder," who assisted Taopi, and was threatened with death by "Little Crow."

And *Zoe Ha-pa*, a squaw, who "at great risk brought provisions to the island where the Rev. Mr. Riggs and party were secreted."

"Little Crow," the leader, with a party of his followers, escaped into British territory, and applied to Governor Dallas, at Fort Garry, for assistance. He was supplied with provisions, but refused any ammunition, and was finally killed by Mr. Lampson on the 3rd of July, 1863, about six miles north of Hutchinson.

The followers of Little Crow, prior to this time, had been either dispersed or had deserted him, and with his death the Sioux Indian war of 1862-63 may be considered at an end.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

THE ETHNOLOGICAL ESSAYS OF WM. EWART GLADSTONE.

Juventus Mundi, the Gods and Men of the Homeric Age. By the
Rt. Hon. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. London: Macmillan
& Co., 1869.

THE first duty towards this book is to acknowledge it as the conscientious work of an accomplished scholar, who has devoted part of the labour and much of the leisure of his life to the study and illustration of the great poet, or poem, Homer. If it has been doubted by some whether his book will take its place as a contribution to the scholarship of the age, it has been because such have regarded his conclusions rather than his materials. The materials are copious, they are the fruits of long and hard study, and in such respect they are solid. In giving us his opinions, Gladstone has laid before us at the same time, freely and openly, the grounds on which they rest; and if we dissent from his views, it is very often because we draw from the facts he has laid before us conclusions very different. So far as the great mass of his readers go, they have as little power as they have time or inclination to gather together the facts the author has collected for their use, and as little power to arrive at a right conclusion.

As a masterly demonstration of Homer, this book will be of great use to all who are engaged in the study of the subject; for they obtain a minute analysis and careful comparison of details spread through 27,000 verses of the Homeric poems. The value of the work will be enhanced when, in after editions, a grave defect has been supplied in the insertion of an index, so unaccountably omitted in what must be regarded in a great degree as a work of reference.

Having said thus much of the general merits of the work, we necessarily abstain from any examination of what the author and the public look upon as the main purpose. It is not our vocation to examine directly the merely scholarly relations of the text, or to enter upon the questions whether there was a Homer or no, and what was the Trojan War described in the poems. We are content with the author to accept Homer as a personage for the purpose of our consideration. What, in this Journal, we have more particularly to deal with, and for which we have the special invitation of the author in his preface, are "the ethnological and mythological portions of the inquiry," which are stated to be considerably modified from the first Essay in the 'Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age,' in 1858.

Whatever the attractions of this book to classic scholars, its mission depends on the doctrines it is intended to inculcate as to the ethnological and mythological relations of the Homeric age, which, again, in the mind of the author, means equally and at the same time the age of the Troica or Trojan War, and the age of Homer or the Homeric bards. It is on these considerations the title has been given to the work, '*Juventus Mundi*;' and here the title is set

forth as the brief abstract of the book itself, an express invention of the author, as much as the hundreds of studious pages that follow on.

'Juventus Mundi' is offered to us. We are to contemplate the youth of the world, not the youth of a tribe or nation, but the youth of the world; and we are to see our first civilization evolved from the barbarism of savages. This is a topic we can well understand; it has been successfully handled by Lubbock and others. We may fancy to ourselves that Gladstone is to take up the subject from them, to go beyond primeval man, and to devote himself rather to the origin of civilization. That is, indeed, the theme he professes to study. We open the book, and we find that 'Juventus Mundi' is the early history, or rather the rudiments of early history, of the Hellenes. We might complain less of the sensational title if the title were not a true type of the work; but we have a just right to complain that such an argument should be offered by a scholar to the little-informed public, and that many should be seriously misled.

'Juventus Mundi' is the apprenticeship in civilization of the Hellenes at a comparatively late period in the annals of the world; but, according to the author himself, these Hellenes were themselves the scholars of a most ancient culture, that of the Egyptians, and that of a people he has assumed as exercising an especial influence, the Phœnicians. Mesopotamia, India, and China, and all that preceded them, or laid foundations for them in the remotest ages, he puts out of sight, earnest to make the Hellenes particular parents of the world's choicest discipline of the human mind, even to the highest development of religious sentiment.

The inconsistency is none the less apparent and, it must be observed, characteristic of the writer, that he actually proposes a pre-Hellenic origin for most of the culture accepted by the Hellenes, by the doctrine of a Pelasgian civilization. Thus there is no Hellenic origination of civilization justified by the author himself; nor has it any better foundation than the attribution to the Troic epoch of the phrase 'Juventus Mundi.'

In sober truth, the whole argument of the author is based on a practical denial of the progress of learning of late years, in a rejection of its teachings in that domain of history which is conceived to be the peculiar study of the statesman. For the sake of a theory, for the sake of what may be called a party cry in the learned world, here we find a most distinguished statesman and an accomplished scholar setting aside the results of well-known researches and of recognized discoveries. He contracts the history of civilization to a period of 3000 years, and he repeats an ancient error of regarding an insignificant portion of mankind, roving in a restricted space, as affording the materials for the history of the world.

Starting with assumptions which disclose their falseness, even in the attempt to veil it, the same course of inconsistency pervades the book. With an undeniable honesty of labour, and with a conscientious statement of convictions, there is a train of persistent error which

has much the appearance of illusion, and which may be attributed to the neglect, and also to the abuse, of the recognized methods of investigation, for which are substituted the self-evolved phantoms of the author's mind, most beautifully conceived, having the consistency of one style and one train of thought, perfectly admissible in a poem or a novel, but not admissible in a book which is not offered to the public as a work of imagination, and which they are expected to accept as an offspring of solid learning. It is indeed a memorable essay of that kind of learning from which we are now seeking to emancipate ourselves, the knowledge of words, and not of things. Thus it often becomes difficult to sift truth from error; the work is felt to be unreliable, and the reader dreads losing his right convictions in the magic of the writer's style, or in the subtlety of his processes.

One difficulty consequent on this state of affairs is, that one knows not with what branch of the subject to begin; for all are connected, and error from one source is fused with other error, an alloying of the base metals, glittering and simulating what is most precious. The mythology claims elements from the ethnology, the chronology depends upon assumptions taken from either; and it can only be by a general repudiation of all the doctrines of the writer that we can put ourselves in a safe position to commence an independent investigation of any single assertion.

As the mythology and sociology are, in a great degree, a derivation from the ethnology, it may be useful to observe how Gladstone proceeds. The Hellenes he conceives to have derived much of their mythology from the nations with which they came in contact; this is in conformity with the principle usually recognizable in such cases; but our author applies it arbitrarily to make such things Hellenic as he chooses, and to build up his own image of what the Hellenes were. He assumes the Pelasgians to have been a cultured race, occupying Hellas before the Hellenes, and teaching them husbandry and part of their mythology. On evidence of comparative philology he assumes the Pelasgians to have spoken much the same language as the Hellenes, but they had some technology separate from the Hellenes and the Italians. As to the Trojans and the inhabitants generally of Asia Minor, on the evidence of Homer making them deliver speeches in Hellenic, he considers they spoke the same language as the Hellenes, and that they gave a portion of their mythology also. Then the Phœnicians, by means of numerous colonies in the mainland and islands of Hellas and Ionia, gave the higher culture and also peculiar elements of mythology.

Of course, one is thought to have contributed nature-worship, another race an antagonistic worship, and so forth; but it matters not to discuss these conclusions, for it is better to examine the ethnological bases.

Our author states (p. vi) that his theory of the Pelasgians is derived from the learned and laborious scholar Von Hahn, who has distinguished himself in so many varied researches. It may be mentioned incidentally that Gladstone also refers to Von Hahn's

publications on the Troad. He tells us truly that Von Hahn's 'Albanesische Studien' is little known here; but, after all, he has given us no direct contributions or citations from a primary authority on which generalizations as to the Pelasgians and Pelasgiauism are based. This is, most likely, because he cannot appreciate ethnologically what Von Hahn has stated. The references he gives to Von Hahn (p. 86, to pp. 43-45) and note 19 p. 130) teach the reader, if he can even get access to Von Hahn's book, nothing of Von Hahn's views; and it is very difficult for a casual reader to get at once what he wants in the rich hoard of copious information and illustration of Von Hahn, another book without an index.

Von Hahn's theses (part i. p. 215) are the following:—

1. The Epirotes and Macedonians were, in Strabo's time, un-Greek or barbarian.

2. Epirotes, Macedonians, and Illyrians are kindred races.

3. The Epirotes and Macedonians were the kernel of the Tyrrheno-Pelasgic race.

4. Illyrian=Pelasgian in a wider sense.

At p. 12, Von Hahn especially defines that the present divisions of the Albanians, the Tosks and Guegs, actually represent the Epirotes and Illyrians. Pelasgian, therefore, is regarded by him as convertible with Illyrian, and that with Gueg, subject to modifications of Tosk and relations therewith.

Von Hahn is the special authority on the Albanians; but then the Albanians are his special subject, regarded chiefly from one light; and great as is the weight of Von Hahn, it is dangerous to take all he says to the full extent of the suggestion. The main theory of Von Hahn, the representation of the Epirotes and Illyrians by the Tosks and Guegs, is very valuable. It carries back an existing population, and gives us an element in earlier ethnology; but then, in the present state of our knowledge, it does not give us an instrument sufficiently safe to use in the early historic, still less in the proto-historic periods. Von Hahn naturally uses it very freely. With him everything is Epirote or akin to it, and for that which is Pelasgianism he has found an apt sectary in Gladstone.

When we get to Strabo, we arrive at a bad period for ethnology, when loose natural conceptions of ethnology were blunted by false etymology and by the confused accumulation of testimonies from successive generations of ignorant observers. Of what resources are available to us for ancient ethnology, there is no example more memorable than this one of the Pelasgians. The assertions are contradictory; and we shall only be able to deal with them by outside evidence, authorizing what to receive and what to reject. The tests adopted by Gladstone are most fallacious, those of comparative philology and comparative mythology. As yet we do not know what the Pelasgian language was, while he has given us a copious vocabulary; he has also distributed to the Pelasgians their parts in mythology.

If the view of Von Hahn be correct, and there are strong presumptions in its favour, the Illyrian language was Albanian, and

ear like relations to ancient Hellenic and Italian as Albanian to Greek. We have, however, yet to study the Albanian, and to get a better knowledge of their archaic form, the successive layers of Turkish, Romain, Byzantine Greek, Latin, Hellenic, and arriving at a residuum, which, for we know, may be affected by Pelasgian, by Iberian, or by Caucasian. When we have done this for the first Indo-European languages reaching the west, the Armenian, the Koord, the Persian, we shall be in a better position to deal with this part of the inquiry.

When this is done, we reject as idle the long vocabularies, quoted by Niebuhr, of Greek and Latin words, by the comparison of which he attempted to segregate a Pelasgian nomenclature founded on certain principles (p. 95):—that the words truly common to the old Latin languages are Pelasgian, that these relate chiefly to domestic life; *sequitur*, that the Pelasgians were given to agriculture and husbandry, and, conversely, that other words are due to the race of different pursuits.

It is possible for Niebuhr to institute such a comparison as a comparative philology had no absolute claim to recognition; but it is strange Gladstone should adopt in this day a so fallacious. The vocabularies in question embrace a large number of radicals, primary and secondary; and had the vocabulary of other Indo-European languages been used, as Latin and Greek, like results might have been obtained, and results equally true. The Sanscritist would assuredly claim many of these words as terms. Some of them do indeed belong to Juvenian or beyond the rise of Hellenes or Pelasgians; some may be beyond the great, but still limited, circle of the Indo-European. Comparisons of *pater* and *mater* are indeed about as true as those of *bos* and *sus*.

There was a Pelasgian language we must believe; but it does not follow that the Pelasgian would leave its mark on the topography of Hellas or on subsequent populations.

Some races have a natural affinity for language, readily adopting the language of another race, or of one with which they are in commerce. Even when a race has possession of a country, it does not always alter its language, or introduce new ones, if there is a subject population by which it is rather to teach its own language to the natives, or where it is itself superseded by another conquering race in a comparatively limited period. Such seems to have been the case of the Pelasgians. They overran Hellas, leaving the original populations *in situ*, and they were themselves overcome by the Greeks.

The difficulty we find as to the Belgians in Britain is that they had only lately supplanted an earlier dominant race, the Iberian, when they were overcome by the Romans.

Hahn is right, the Epirotes and Illyrians might at any time have been, what they have been in all historic periods, without having little regard for their own language, except as a vulgar language, not cultivating it as a literary language, and

always ready to accept some foreign language as a medium of communication. The mere acceptance of such a condition is unfavourable to the development of a language in what are considered its higher attributes. Such is the case with the Koords, who now employ the Persian, as perhaps the Kardukhi did before them; such is the case with the natives of the Caucasus.

It would happen, if the Pelasgians were in such conditions as here described, that we should find small evidence of them in topographical nomenclature, the most valuable repertory of archaic testimony as to occupying races. It is true there is no stigma on the Pelasgians if they have not given their vocabulary to mountains and rivers, because these are named by the earliest races; but there is this against the independent culture of the Pelasgians as a great civilizing race in Southern Europe, that there is not only no reliable philological evidence in their favour, but much against them.

Gladstone, with wavering credulity, is content to take the testimony of one Petricles, a Greek formerly under his government at Corfu, that the Romaic Greeks believe undoubtingly that the Pelasgians were the original inhabitants of Hellas. It is pardonable, under such circumstances, to find Mommsen, in his 'History of Rome,' quoted (p. 32) as a sufficient authority for this assertion, "and there is no reason to believe that there were any earlier occupants of the Greek or of the Italian peninsula than the group of tribes that was called Pelasgian." One ground for this assertion is a recognition of prehistoric archeology; for it is affirmed that "neither of these countries presents us with remains belonging to what is called the stone period of the human race, when implements and utensils were made of that material, and the use of metals was unknown." This is a crudity, because, admitting in such a case an absolute classification of a stone age, we have had as yet no sufficient searches in those countries to know what remains there are of a stone age or of various successive races adopting metal utensils.

There is, however, other evidence to be consulted, that of the names of natural objects and places in Iberia, Italy, Hellas, and Asia Minor. On a comparison of these, there is a decided result, so far as Iberia is concerned; for W. von Humboldt has proved that its nomenclature is Iberian, and conformable to the modern Basque. This nomenclature is reproduced in Western Asia Minor (as shown in the 'Transactions of the Ethnological Society'), and it exists in a weaker state in Italy and Hellas. This nomenclature is certainly not Pelasgian, any more than it is Hellenic; and it is pre-Hellenic. There is also the question of the Ligurians to be disposed of.

Starting from Eastern Asia Minor, and proceeding to Western Asia Minor, there is another nomenclature recognizable; and that has also its relations to subsisting populations *in situ*, the Lazian and Georgian. This has likewise corresponding forms in Hellas and the islands.

We have, therefore, two populations still represented anterior to the Hellenes, quite as competent to furnish elements of social

the Hellenes, and which are disregarded in 'Juventus et the precedent civilization of which has an important the Hellenes, Pelasgians, and even Phœnicians, behave some kind of civilization and some kind of my- istent on the spot, we are not forced to place too on the newer political influence of the Phœnicians— sing that the area of Phœnician influence was not at the epoch in question than Gladstone has assumed n; for Renan, Deutsch, and Oppert are still seeking evidences as to the possible connexion of the Phœni- e mainland of Asia Minor and Hellas.

circumstances Gladstone, resting on older scholars It with facts at their own pleasure, assumes a sup- e Pelasgians, and he finds the Pelasgians to be an agri- eful, and little warlike population. This, on Von is not compatible with 2000 years of the history of the Illyrians; and it is not compatible with various testi- cient authors as to the Pelasgians. The Albanians e and unruly race, just the race to penetrate into a pied by subject populations and an alien conquering overcome it, but with so little cohesion as readily to a more cohesive race, and to coalesce with it. The oy the Pelasgians is compatible with Von Hahn, and with the part assigned to them by Gladstone, and to with regard to then existing races. The Iberians y an agricultural and settled population, and with urces.

an language presents to the observer appearances of the class of Indo-European languages which first ap- e west, languages remote in their relations, with a ness in their structure, and what may be termed a constitution, which has not yielded in the Armenian f real refinement after much labour. The Pelasgians he same class of population, warlike and turbulent, intain a constant independence, or to form a per- re. The Pelasgians or Albanians, the Armenians, rds form a marked contrast with the Persians and

Pelasgians being non-maritime, on which Gladstone th may perhaps be found on Von Hahn's data. The e not now maritime in the sense of holding their own ants or war captains, though readily disposed for there is a chance; but the Albanians furnished the rs with their best fighting sailors and merchant sailors ar of Independence, and the most daring deeds were the Albanians. For a people to be great at sea, it the higher qualities of organization which enable it to and to undertake distant expeditions. Such marked us, and afterwards the Greeks. Frequenting the sca e of pirate raids does not constitute a true seafaring

people. The Pelasgians did, however, serve in the ships of the Hellenes, and were so far not destitute of maritime habits.

The Trojans, according to Gladstone (p. 451), had a double ethnical relation with the Hellenes, equally as Pelasgians and as Hellenes. He has a glimmering about a Trojan language (p. 452); but his impression is that a near relation with the Hellenic, and perhaps substantial identity, seems probable. He cannot avoid recognizing that in the army various tongues were spoken, and that the Carians are called speakers of a barbarous language.

His ground for identity of language between Trojans and Greeks is that the poet makes his personages understand each other in conversation, and that the names of his Trojans are of the Hellenic type. His arguments as to distinctions in religion are of equally futile character. There is not a tittle of evidence discoverable in all that Gladstone has brought forward. However fairly descriptive the Homeric poems may be of Hellenic localities, they certainly comprise the results of a large amount of invention, and most of the names are as assuredly fabricated as in the Edda or any kindred compositions.

The characteristics of such early poems are well worthy of study for ethnological purposes. They are connected with a mental proclivity for the production of artificial language, the invention of a language thought to be more sacred or more respectful, of which Javan presents a striking example, and to which male and female languages may be referred. Such manipulation of language in the hands of priests or bards, or bard priests, results not only in the invention of separate words, in selection and modification of the grammar or structure, but more particularly in the extension of invention to the invention of historical facts. Genealogy of families and races and the generation of gods are almost universal exercises among the races of mankind, and may perhaps be going on at this time. Artificial or regulated grammatical languages have been produced for religious purposes, which, becoming the languages of the educated, have differed from the languages of the vulgar, in which the older types have coexisted.

The Homeric poems are example enough of constructed genealogies, a constructed mythology, and made up history; and no reliance can be placed on such materials, particularly as dealt with in 'Juventus Mundi.'

It might have been worth Gladstone's while to make an examination of the topography of the Troad to see what names are to be found there. Names of places are historical records, and in them are often preserved relics of ancient and extinct races. Such an examination might or might not produce results. In the case of the Troad, putting aside recognizable Hellenic names, we find, among other words, Ilion, Astura, Pergamus, Pedæum, Skamander, Simois, Ida.

Let us take this small list, and find what are the relations of a few of these words, Ilion for instance. We have in Asia Minor, Iluza, Ilistra, Bargylia; and in Spain we have Ilipa, Ilerda, Iliberis,

tania) Iliturgis, Ilurco, and Iluro. Astura we have, and we have Cremaste, near Abydos, not far from Crete there are Astale and Asterusia. In Spain Astura, Asturica, Astures, and many forms of Asta. In Steria, and in Eubœa Stura. In Latium there is Astoria Ostra, in Sicily Segesta. Pedæum is less defined, so Pedasus, Pedasa, in Asia Minor, Idubeda, Orospeida, Pedusia in Spain.

has some local alliances with Mæander and Oromandrus with the western peninsulas.

of Ilion and Astura in the Troad belong to a large class in Western Asia Minor, which are identical with Asia and Spain, and admitting of interpretation: Ilion or town, or place, or "the city;" Asturas is compounded — *Asta*, a rock, and *ura*, water (Humboldt, chap. xiii.).

we have a large number of Iberian names in Western Asia Minor. We have Iberian names in Italy and Greece. The legitimation is, that there was in Western Asia Minor an Iberian, and that population must have been before the Greek population proceeded from the east, and, as it appeared, penetrated into Western Asia Minor, attacking and conquering some other population. This population moved to the eastward.

The population gives names to the mountains and rivers. These do not belong to the last group, which is Iberian; but lies, Mæander and Oromandrus, and other names in Asia Minor, have affinities with names of the east and with Georgian. Mæander, in this case, appears to represent what Georgian Mdinare, the river; Skamander may be the spring river, and Oromandrus the two rivers. There is, throughout ancient Asia Minor a set of words allied with Georgian.

Names may be attributed:—the derivatives of Mdinare, a mountain, named; those of Gori, a hill, as Gargara, Singara (three mountains), Pisinggara, Mogarus, Garios, and Gergithus; of Gazaitain, as Gazalino, Gazioura, Gazouron, Gazena, Olussos, Bargaza, Laugaza; of Dasa, a guard, as Kardasa, Dason, Daskousa, Dasmenda; of Ponti, a ford, as Aspona, Okhosbanes (four fords); of Tsqali, water, as Skulax, Askulion; of Tsqora, fountain, as Themiskura (fountain), Sakorsa, Sakora; of Daba, a village, as Tabas, Deba, Di, Taba, Tabæ; of Tzikhe, a fort, as Harmozika, Mizi, Zagora, Kuzikus. The following words appear to have meanings attached:—Tmolos (the snowy mountain), Middle ford), Talaoura (tent), Sipylus (the barrow), Meles (the channel), Kalisarna (the women's fountain), Skhœnus (the black river), Ordymnus (the two-headed mountain), Tmolos (the big mountain).

in districts in which these words are found, with modern names, have populations speaking Lazian, Suan, and

Georgian. The district near Lazistan in protohistoric times was occupied by a kingdom of Amazons. The Amazons in prehistoric times had founded the most ancient cities, as Ephesus, Smyrna, &c., and had ruled in those districts. The Amazons had invaded Attica, according to legend; and words allied to what may be called the Amazon form (that is, the Caucaso-Tibetan) are to be found in Hellas.

These observations will be found to be consistent, and to be reconcilable with existing ethnological facts and with legend; they give us for the Troad an earlier Amazon population, which was driven back eastward on its own territory by another population, the Iberian. The Amazon population, setting fable aside, was a part of those races inhabiting the Caucasus which of late years have been linguistically connected with the great Tibetan family, and of which a dissevered group occupies the Caucasus and North-eastern Asia Minor.

The Iberians, possibly destroying an Amazon sway in Hellas, passed into Western Asia Minor, unseating the Amazons. The Iberians were succeeded by the Hellenes, who occupied much the same territory as the Iberians had done. It is possible that in Asia Minor the Pelasgians may have made the first attack on the Iberians, as the Saxons did on the Britons, and were joined and succeeded by the Hellenes as the Saxons were by the English.

It appears most consistent to suppose that the great and memorable war commemorated by the 'Iliad' was a great traditional war, in which the last bulwark of the Iberian empire fell, scattering its dependent and tributary nations of various races. This is far more probable than a representation of one of many local feuds between Pelasgians and Hellenes.

Whether we are justified or not in arriving at such a conclusion, at all events, so far as the mythology was concerned, we find that there were two older populations in the district, of at least as much culture as Pelasgians or Hellenes—and very possibly other populations; for the Daktuli of the Ephesus district (hill tribes) propagated the worship of the Mother of the Gods, and communicated it to the Hellenes ('Journal of the Ethnological Society,' No. 1, p. 39).

From the latter foreign source this branch of worship was obtained; and Amazons and Iberians were more likely to exercise an influence than a population of Pelasgians, imagined with no sufficient ground to have been civilized, or than the casual commerce of the Phœnicians at a later period. The Phœnicians were casual strangers, but the Daktuli remained in the country, so did the Amazons, contributing to that barbarous-speaking population which in the historic period constituted the main part of the inhabitants of the interior. It was on the coasts and in the islands the Hellenes settled, intermarrying with the barbarians.

To the Amazons was attributed, at all events, the worship of Diana of Ephesus by later tradition. Iberian influence operating through Hellas and Italy is a better suggestion of origin for the

western element of the mythology than is the suggestion of an absolute Pelasgian origin.

In the neglect of real origins, and in the attribution of dubious origins, the whole reasoning of the 'Juventus Mundi' on the mythology, political and social institutions of Trojans and Hellenes, ceases to have any claim to our assent. Under such circumstances the ethnological problems to the consideration of which we are invited, so far from being solved, are obscured. In regard to comparative mythology the work gives no contributions; for it cannot be admitted that the way in which Gladstone introduces Christianity throws any new light upon it, while it has the tendency to bring it within the pale of comparative mythology, and to represent it as a mythological development. Such is the infallible result of antedating Christianity, and seeking for it a rudimentary and embryonic existence, an anterior emanation of protoplasm, influencing and being influenced, having its relations to nature-worship, presenting the Olympian system as "a precursor of Christianity," and Christianity as a successor to the Olympian system. Many may complain that the divine claims of Christianity are subjected to such associations; but neither Gladstone nor any one else can complain if the theme so offered shall hereafter be discussed in the spirit of 'Juventus Mundi.' Heretofore there have been explanations offered of events in earlier biblic narrations from external sources; and if, on the one side, the Noachic deluge was harmonious with other traditions, so illustration was freely made from these other traditions; but the present may be regarded as a new attempt to place the revelation of Christianity within the domain of comparative mythology. The result is ungracious, and none the less as it introduces a new cause of disturbance within the scientific world.

In considering what 'Juventus Mundi' really is, what is its true scope, and what its value in reference to the various sciences dependent on ethnology, we have only accepted the express invitation of the author. It becomes impossible to discuss the opinions of this work (and it is a work mainly of opinions) when the facts on which they are based are found to be untenable. Such a book cannot be treated like a painting. In the latter case artists are quite content to praise the great labour of the painter without any regard to his failure in drawing, in truth, and in imagination; but this cannot be so in a work of science, nor can all our appreciation of the author as a master of Homer's text blind us to his deficiencies when subjected to historical standards and to the comparison of evidence.

HYDE CLARKE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The following communication from Dr. F. V. Hayden, was made to the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

"I have made some very interesting observations in regard

to Indian history in the course of my geological survey of this State. Most of the Indians of the Lower Missouri, as the Pawnees, Otoes, Iowas, Missouris, live in earth-built or stationary villages, and have done so from time immemorial. The tribes on the Upper Missouri do the same (Arikaras, Mandans, and Minitauns).

"All along the Missouri, in the valley of the Little Blue, Big Blue, Platte, Loup Fork Rivers, I have observed the remains of these old dirt villages; and pieces of pottery are almost invariably found with them. But on a recent visit to the Pawnee Reservation or Loup Fork, I descried the remains of an old Pawnee village, apparently of greater antiquity than the others, and the only one about which any stone implements have been found as yet. On and around the site of every cabin of this village, I found an abundance of broken arrow-heads, chipped flints, some of which must have been brought from a great distance, and a variety of small stones, which had been used as hammers, chisels, &c. I have gathered about half a bushel of the fragments of pottery, arrow-heads, and chipped flints, some of which I hope to exhibit to the Society next winter. No Pawnee Indian now living knows of the time when this village was inhabited. Thirty years ago, an old chief told a missionary that his tribe dwelt there before his birth; but he knew nothing of the use of stone arrow-heads, though he said his people used them before the introduction of iron. This discovery is interesting, as it is the first tribe that I have ever been able to find connecting the stone age with the present in the Missouri valley.

"I have asked the most intelligent Indians of more than twenty tribes in this valley, how far back in the past the Indians used stone arrow-points, and I have received but one answer. They would point towards heaven and say, "The Great Spirit only knows, we do not."

"At Pine Bluff, on Pole Creek, a branch of the Platte, and on the line of the Union Pacific Railroad, there are large quantities of chipped flints and arrow-heads, showing that in former times they wrought them at this locality. Mr. S. B. Reed, Superintendent of Construction U. P. R.R., found specimens of pottery abundant, and chipped flints and arrow-points on the plains near the Humboldt Mountains. The pottery was made of disintegrated granite, as it was full of particles of mica. These remains may possibly be modern; for the Digger Indians who inhabit this region are a low, degraded people, and even now use flint arrow-points, though they use no pottery. There is now no evidence that the Indians of this region ever used any pottery like that found, so that it may be possessed of some antiquity."

ORDINARY MEETING, MAY 8TH, 1869.

[*Held at the Museum of Practical Geology.*]

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

ON NEW-ZEALAND AND POLYNESIAN ETHNOLOGY.

New Member.—MR. ESCOTT CHAMBERS.

The President made some introductory remarks.

Sir George Grey read the following paper—

XXII.—On the Social Life of the Ancient Inhabitants of New Zealand, and on the National Character it was likely to form. By Sir GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

I PROPOSE this evening to try to show what was the nature of the social life of the ancient inhabitants of New Zealand, and what kind of national character it was likely to create.

In my attempt to do this, I shall make the New-Zealanders themselves describe their social life; and for this purpose I will read portions of an historical legend which I have translated, which contains a clear and, I think, in many respects a not unpleasant picture of the life which the New-Zealanders passed. By this mode of dealing with the subject, it is true, it will lose attractions which an argumentative and imaginative manner of treating it might have imparted to it; but, on the other hand, it will immeasurably gain in reality. We shall be travelling in the paths of truth, not of fancy; for although the historical facts of the legend might be questioned (I think wrongly) by the sceptical, all those who knew the New-Zealanders when first they came into contact with Europeans, will at once recognize and admit the truth and fidelity of the picture it contains of their social life.

With regard to the New-Zealand legends generally, I have laid on the table, for the inspection of the Society, some books written by natives, showing the manner in which those natives who collected them for me wrote them down, and supplied them to me.

I have also laid upon the table a printed volume of many of the native legends in the Maori language, as also a printed volume of Maori poems; and I would especially call attention to a manuscript commentary upon this volume of poems, which a native, who had formerly been one of their priests, spent several years in writing. The labour he thus undertook was

entirely a work of love on his part. He had never seen a European commentary on any work. The conception of such an elucidation of their ancient poetry and customs was an entirely original one on his part. I was absent from New Zealand when he entered on the task. On my return there, I accidentally heard of the existence of this commentary, and obtained it from the writer, who had then completed his elucidation of about one-half of the volume of poems which lies on the table; and he is now engaged in elucidating and explaining the latter half of the volume. The labour thus bestowed on these poems shows in what high estimation they are held by the natives.

The legend to which I am about to call your attention is the history of the Chief Paoa, the ancestor of the Ngatipaoa tribe, who inhabit the country lying on the rivers Piako and Waihou, now called the Thames, not far distant from Auckland. It is a simple narrative of every-day life, of which it is replete with minute descriptions. Could we now obtain such a record of our ancient British forefathers, such a document would be regarded as the most precious of our historical possessions. Yet there are strong grounds for believing that the social life of our British ancestors closely resembled that of the ancient New-Zealanders, and that scenes not much differing from one another were in remote ages occurring on the Thames in England and the Thames in New Zealand.

I also feel confident that the legend I am about to submit to you will show that the social life of the New-Zealanders was likely to form a national character distinguished for hospitality, courtesousness, and courage—that it was likely to develop some heroic qualities, and to render it a matter of duty on the part of the chiefs to set their people a good example in all those occupations and pursuits which were esteemed amongst them. Altogether the life the New-Zealanders led was not devoid of many graces and of many charms; under it as high a degree of happiness might be enjoyed as was possible in a country where a system of worship of false gods prevailed. It is probable that many races of men have, for a vast number of centuries, led a precisely similar life; and when one hears it described in their own simple language, it is easy to understand how many of them dreaded the evils and wants of civilization, and clung with desperate tenacity to a mode of life and manners which long custom and immemorial tradition had endeared to them. Hence has sprung much of that heroic and well nigh invincible resistance which mountaineers and imperfectly civilized or barbarous races have so often opposed to the occupation of their country by foreign and more civilized nations.

But what it especially becomes those to observe who contem-

plate the various vicissitudes to which the human race is subject in its march from degree of civilization to degree of civilization is this, that, in such a system of society as we shall have to consider, the entire wealth of a nation is upon the whole distributed with a great degree of equality. A fair degree of comfort, and an ample amount of subsistence are the property of all. There are no startling inequalities in dwelling, in clothing, in any of the conveniences that belong to man. All amusements are in common, the property of the chief subserves for the comfort and happiness of all; and although a chief be poor, if he sprang from truly illustrious ancestors, his poverty does not impair his princely power. When, therefore, a race which has lived for centuries in such a social state becomes, to a great extent, comparatively civilized, when its civilization has reached such a condition that those evils which are inseparably mingled with the blessings of civilization become apparent, when poverty oppresses a considerable portion of the population, when the unequal distribution of lands and of the general wealth is oppressively evident and want is endured by many, when mere wealth begins to give a power which previously belonged to rank and worth, and the chiefs feel their power fading from them, it is easy to conceive that a remembrance of the former state of society, preserved in such legends as the one I am to bring before you, would constantly be present in many minds, until a general yearning for benefits lost, and a too faint recollection of the ills with which those benefits were accompanied, would take general possession of a large portion of the public mind, and a revolt would take place against the new system which had recently sprung up, and a large party would endeavour at all risks and at all hazards to restore the state of affairs which prevailed in the time of their forefathers. In truth, such a revolt against innovations has almost invariably taken place under circumstances such as I have above stated; and too often such a revolt, instead of being attributed to its natural causes, has been ascribed to an absolute incapacity for civilization in the barbarous race, and has even been held to afford a legitimate plea in justification of its extermination, instead of which only that which was to have been anticipated had occurred, and a temporary difficulty had taken place, which was certain soon to be followed and checked by a natural reaction.

THE HISTORY OF PAOA, THE ANCESTOR OF THE NGATI-PAOA TRIBE.

When Paoa came to this country, bordering on the river Thames (Waihou) and Piako, he came from the southward, from

the Ngati-kahunghu tribe; the Whai-a-Pawa (East Cape) was the country of his ancestors; his father was named Rongo-tiu-moe-whara.

Whilst Paoa was living with his father, he had a quarrel with his wife; and she, being overcome with shame, went away to other places, to stop there, and mourn and weep for the manner in which she had been treated by her husband. For a long time after she had gone Paoa remained, expecting that his wife would come back again; and after he had expected her return for very many days, at last he surmised that she must have gone to some very distant place; so he thought, "Perhaps she has gone to a great distance, I will go and find her."

Then he set off on his journey, with his slave as a travelling companion, and went through many villages searching for his wife, and she could not be found; for when she heard the voice of Paoa she hid herself: however he continued to travel in search of her; but as he could nowhere find his wife, at last he returned to his father and his relations, that he might once more see them. And when he arrived at their village, he wept towards them, saying, "If we cannot find her, I and my slave will return to search this town and that town, and this village and that village. If we cannot find her, I and my slave will still continue to search for her."

Then his father spoke, saying, "Yes, go, my son, but take some of your brethren with you to bear you company upon the road." And Paoa answered, "'Tis well, I will take them; if we find her, then we will all return to you; if we cannot find her, I will send my brothers back to you; but, as for myself, I will not in that case return to you, but I and my slave will persevere in our efforts, and will continue until we have searched every town and village." His father replied, "Be it so, my son."

Then Paoa and his brothers started and traversed the forests until they came out into the Taupo country, and at last reached the Lake of Taupo; but Paoa's wife could not be found there; so he then said to his brethren, "Now, then, my young brothers, you must return to our father, to cheer up his heart once more." But his brothers earnestly entreated him to let them still bear him company, and spoke most affectionately to their eldest brother; but Paoa spoke angrily to them, and positively ordered them to return. So they went on their way home again, and returned from Taupo to the Whai-a-Pawa.

So Paoa pursued his journey in peace and reached Tongariro, and thence came out upon the Taranaki country; but his wife could nowhere be found. Then he pursued his journey up the west coast, until he came out upon the river Waikato, some

ve its mouth, in the interior of the country, and village there. And when the people of the village ey questioned his slave, saying, "Who is this?" e answered by the slave, "It is Paoa." And they ve again, "Whence does he come?" And the m thus, "We come together from the eastward, ing sun." Then they questioned further, saying, e you undertake this journey?" And the slave m, "We came to try to find his wife, and we have ywhere, and, lo! she has not yet been found." ple of the village said to the slave, "Why should i be sought after in this manner by you? here is a wife for him; why should you search further? It idens in your country, have we not as good here? uch a woman be sought after in such a manner by re is a maiden as a wife for your master." Then ried to a maiden of that place.

moved a little way from that village to Kaitotehe re, and made it his permanent residence; and two were there born to him; the eldest was named e second Toa-poto. And after he had lived there , Paoa cast his glances on a very beautiful young ho was a slave of very mean origin; and Paoa that woman, caught by her beauty: that was the Paoa to make her his slave wife; and he deserted h rank and his children. When Paoa's slave saw r had deserted his wife of rank, he said to him- me, I will return to my lady." So he returned , and continued to live with her as her slave; and, upport her children, his mistress was obliged to slave. And they cultivated together a garden of , and were fortunate; for in the first year they had askets of sweet potatoes, and in the second year two hundred baskets of sweet potatoes; and the ady went on working most industriously, and ex- ultivations.

e woman he had taken as a slave-wife also laboured they extended their cultivations as much as they angers kept on dropping in, consuming from time basketfuls of their produce; for visitors who nt to any other house, they naturally all resorted it might be seen that they regarded him as the n; and thus it went on each year.

r the third season of harvest, some distant con- a's principal wife came in their canoe into the and landed at Pepepe, where was their young

female relation, the wife of Paoa. So the travellers asked her, saying, "Where shall we find Paoa?" And she told them, "Oh! Paoa's place is a little lower down the river, at Kaitotehe." Then the travellers went straight on board their canoe again, and pulled down the river to Kaitotehe and landed there; and there was Paoa; and some of his people raised the cry of, "Strangers! strangers! Here are strangers come to visit Paoa!"

Now it happened that the slave wife of Paoa had just come back from the forests, from gathering the curved sprouts of the mamaku trees, and sprouts of the mauku, and such coarse kinds of wild food as are eaten in times of scarcity; and as soon as she had come back, she bound up the sprouts she had collected in the leaves of the wharangi and of the karamu, that they might be so cooked as to be juicy and tender, and then put them under the hot ashes of the fire. She was just caught doing this by the strangers who had arrived; and off she ran on one side, leaving her vegetables cooking, not having had time to take them out of the fire. In came the strangers, straight up to the village from the river; and whilst some of them went up to the houses, others came straight to the fire where the food was cooking; and seeing the hot ashes heaped up, they said amongst themselves, "Some one is cooking eels here;" and those amongst them who were very glad at the thoughts of getting such good food, said, "Ah! there are no doubt some nice eels cooking in this fire." And the travellers lingered about the fire, waiting until the person the food belonged to should come back again, and, taking off the fire, should take out the dainties they longed for; but not a bit did the woman come back to her fire again; she was nearly dead with alarm lest the strangers should see the food cooking in her oven, and should say, "See what beggarly stuff this wretched creature eats." As for Paoa, too, he could not open his mouth to say a word, he felt so disgraced at not having any food to set before his guests.

At last Paoa told his slave wife to run to his principal wife and bring a few sweet potatoes for the visitors; but the woman said to him, "What is the use of my going? she will not let us have any;" but Paoa answered, "Never mind, you had better go, even if you get none, you can but try."

So the woman hurried off to carry Paoa's message; and whilst she was still coming, and a long way off, she was seen by the children of Paoa's principal wife; and off ran the children to their mother and told her, saying "Here comes that slave wife of Paoa's." When their mother heard what they said, off she ran too, and got into her house to hide herself. However, the

came straight on to the house (for she had seen into it) ; and when she reached the doorway she stood, peeping into the house, there she saw Paoa's wife away, weaving a garment of flax ; so she saluted the woman, and his principal wife saluted her too ; and when the duties of the salutation were completed, the slave wife delivered her message, and said, " I have been sent here by Paoa to bring food for the strangers who have just arrived." The principal wife had guessed very readily that the woman was sent by Paoa to fetch provisions ; so she in her turn said, " I send provisions for the strangers, indeed ! would I have provisions ? am I a man that I should idly labour and till the ground ? has a poor woman idly labour ? I will not part with any of my hard-earned food ; I shall keep it to nourish my deserted children, lest they should come from want."

While Paoa was waiting anxiously until his messenger should come back as soon as ever she came back he questioned her, " what does she say ?" and the woman answered, " I cannot give any provisions ; she says she has nothing to send, and they are famishing." When Paoa heard this he said not a word to say ; he felt so completely abashed, that he gave no answer ; but he turned to the strangers and said, " We have no food here, and shall be very hungry, so we cannot have any pleasant conversation. It is only when we are satisfied that conversation runs agreeably." They all sat until evening began to close in, till almost dark, and then hunger ; then his guests returned to their own lodgings. On the very same day that they had arrived they got into their canoes again and pulled away. As for poor Paoa, he was filled with shame, and he said that he would abandon his home and be off and seek some new abode ; and that he had departed a fugitive from his own place.

Paoa started in the night, and he went straight from his home for Hanraki, up the valley of the Manga-wara, which runs out into the Waikato, at the base of Mount Ruapehu on its eastern side. When the day dawned, Paoa was hurrying on ; and at last he reached the hills of Ruapehu, where the Mangawara has its source ; and as he went up he rested there, and saw the Waikato lying far off, and Hanraki lying before him ; and then he wept bitterly at leaving his children, and his people, and his home. As long as he thought of these things ; and when somewhat assuaged his grief, he bid them all farewell, and was sorrowing.

Paoa resumed his journey again, and pushed straight on

for the river Piako, and at last came out upon the banks of that river, and stopped at a large fortified village named Mirimirirau; and he stopped there and dwelt there amongst the people of that place; and they became a people for him, and they dealt kindly with him, and he was as a chief to them, and he dwelt there; and a year passed away, and by degrees the fame of Paoa spread into the district of Hanraki, and at length it reached the village of Ruawhea.

And it chanced that a visiting party started from the fortified village where Paoa dwelt, and went to Ruawhea, where a large part of the people of Hanraki were assembled; and when they saw the party of visitors approaching, a cry was raised, "These strangers come from a great distance; they come from the river Piako." Then, indeed, loud were the cries of "Welcome, welcome!" which were raised; and the visitors took up their abode in some of the buildings which belonged to Tukutuku; she was the daughter of the chief of Ruawhea; and they seated themselves there, and had not sat long, indeed but a very short time, when their hospitable young hostess had fires lighted to roast fern-root in, to stay their appetites whilst other food was prepared; and they rose up, and went to the fires, and partook of the fern-root whilst better food was preparing; and when the food was cooked, it was spread out before them, and consisted chiefly of delicate eels. When they had finished their meal they lay down to rest; and when day broke they went to the residences of other people, each one going to the place of those friends he had come to visit.

After many days the several persons of this visiting party all assembled again at the residence of Tukutuku, previously to returning home, and they rested there, intending to sleep there; and as soon as it grew dark, a bright fire was lighted in a house, and the dancers were all ranged in order; for the residence of a chief was known by people dancing there.

Whilst the dance was going on, Tukutuku took an opportunity of questioning some of the strangers, saying, "Where is he of whom we have heard so much here?" Then the strangers answered, "Whom do you mean?" Then the maiden replied, "I mean Paoa;" and they answered her, "Oh! he is living on the Piako." And she said, "Do you think we shall ever see Paoa here?" and they replied, "We cannot tell; perhaps he will come here." The young maiden was still unmarried; many chiefs flocked about her to try to win her favour, but she never would consent to take them. Now, when her parents heard their daughter asking in this manner after Paoa, they said to one another, "Why, surely the girl must have taken a fancy to Paoa; do you hear how she is asking after him?"

When the morning broke, the party of visitors departed for the Piako, filled with wonder at the greatness and rank of the maiden, and the number of her dependents. Her real greatness was shown by her courteousness and generosity to all her dependents; and when they saw this, their hearts were moved, and they brought to her as presents large quantities of food, such as dried shell-fish and other delicacies, so that she could show great hospitality to strangers.

When the party from Paoa's fortified village, who had been visiting at Hanraki, arrived near their own place, the people of the fortress saw them returning, and they waved their garments and cried out, "Hasten here, hasten here!" as a welcome to them upon their return; so those who were returning landed, and entered the fortress, and seated themselves in the courtyard, and began to relate all that they had seen and heard. And they talked until evening, and Paoa was seated with them; and as they talked they mentioned the great rank of Tuketuku, the maiden whom they had seen, and they said to Paoa, "Oh! father, the maiden questioned us about you." And he replied, "About whom, say you, did the maiden question you?" And they said, "She questioned us about you, saying, 'Where is the man whose renown has been so much heard of here?' and we answered her, 'Who is it you are asking after?' and she told us, 'It is Paoa I am speaking of;' and then the maiden said to us, 'I should much like to see him; for his fame is noised over the whole country, far and wide.' Then we told her, 'he is to be found at his own fortress;' and she questioned us again, saying, 'Where is his fortress?' And we answered, 'At Mimirirau.'" Then she said to us, 'Do you think he will visit my residence, or not?' And we answered the maid, 'Who knows? perhaps he will visit this place.'" When Paoa heard this, he said to them, "Wait a little, we will all go and see her in the tenth month, when our crops are harvested and stored; let us go unembarrassed with work, lest whilst we are absent on the journey our hearts should feel anxious about our homes; and all his people fell in with this arrangement, saying, "Yes, yes; we will start in the tenth month. Let the party be large; let not one of us fail of going." And he said, "Be it so; let the maiden's request be complied with;" and when this understanding had been come to, the party broke up.

When the tenth month arrived, Paoa started with a very large retinue, on a visit to Hanraki; they went in their canoes, and they stopped at Kerepehi, and there they slept the first night; and the next day they continued to pull down the river, until they reached its mouth at Rawaki, and there they rested a little and partook of food; and as soon as the tide began to flow,

they again embarked in their canoes, and entered the Hanraki river, and they went up the river rapidly and without pulling hard ; for they went in with the flood tide. And when the people of the village at the entrance saw them, they shouted aloud to them with cries of welcome ; so they landed there, and went towards the village in a body, with Paoa in the midst of them ; and as they all moved along, Paoa towered high above them all ; he looked, as he walked along, like the bird called the "stilts" moving in a flock of little birds. And as they moved towards the village, loud cries of "Welcome, welcome !" continued to resound ; so they went gladly on, until they reached the village. Paoa had put on his old coarse cloak, made of the leaves of the Ti tree : next his body he had a rough cloak, such as chiefs wear, outside of that a cloak made of flax, and over all his coarse cloak made of Ti-leaves. They all seated themselves in a courtyard ; and then the people of the village all looked hard at them, trying to make out which was Paoa, saying, "Who is that in the coarse cloak ? perhaps it is the chief of whom we have heard so much." They had not rested very long, when their hosts brought bundles of firewood and fern-root, and stones to pound it on ; then they lighted up clear, bright fires, and began to bake the pieces of fern-root, and then to pound them with wooden mallets ; and the noise of the rapidly beating mallets was loud, as the confused murmur of a multitude. In a little time they laid out on one side the pieces of baked fern-root, which they had duly pounded, with baskets of cooked fish ; and the visitors, rising from their seats, went to partake of the food prepared for them ; and Paoa seated himself in the midst of them ; and the people of the village (who still had their eyes fixed upon him) picked out a basket with fine salmon in it, and laid it before him for his portion ; they thought, "We will find out whether he is an affected fellow, or a really great man. If he is a weak, conceited fellow, he will only eat the best food, and refuse the worst." But Paoa, just looking at the basket of beautiful fish they had placed before him, pushed it on one side for his companions to eat, pulled a flax dish, with the refuse food in it, towards him, and ate of that, and so fast, too, that he appeared hardly to have dipped his hand twice in it when he had finished it all ; and when some of the people of the village saw the manner in which he ate, they said to one another, "After all, he's a low fellow ; see what stuff he eats ;" but the old men of the village said, "That man is a chief, he is only trying to appear to be a person of no importance."

Presently Paoa took another flax dish of refuse, dirty food, and swallowed that also. Then one of the people of the village, no longer able to restrain his curiosity, asked a young lad of

their guests, "Who is that man?" And he was the lad, "That is Paoa." When he heard this, he placed where the chiefs of the village were sitting by their guests eat), and told them, "That is Paoa; how is he?" Some of the people who heard this said, "It is greedy;" thence that proverb has ever since been of the Ngatipaoa tribe; so that men say, "as greedy as Paoa."

He was thus at last recognized and being known to them collected and crowded round to gaze at him, say- uly no wonder that such reports have spread here that he was such a fine handsome fellow."

Paoa's people had all done eating, they all retired took their seats upon the ground on one side. Then from the place brought forth a present for Paoa—a cloak, and a cloak which they were weaving, and which was finished. They then all lay down to sleep.

On the day broke, the travellers entered their canoes, and went away upon their journey. As they came up the river they were seen by the people of Turua, which is a village; and the greater part of Paoa's people said, "We do not land here;" but the people of the place waved their hands, and cried out to them "Welcome, welcome!" Paoa said, "When there is a call to a feast, open your ears, the drum of your ears be then not thick); and Paoa has ever since kept that saying amongst them

When they landed there, and they were received and treated just in the same manner as at the former village. Paoa did not take a warm cloak manufactured of Ti-leaves, but contented himself with it; and the people kindled fires and cooked their food for them, and they ate food and slept there; and as the day broke, they again embarked in their canoes and went down the river.

Paoa halted at Te Kari; for they were invited to stop by the inhabitants of that fortified village: so they landed. They were all at once recognized by the people of the village, for some of them had formerly visited the Piako, a village of Paoa; but those persons in the village who had never seen Paoa, came to gaze upon him, and admired him very much. The tide was now ebbing, and it was difficult to go up the stream; but in the evening the tide began to rise, so they then sent off a canoe up the river to Ruahine, so they might hear that Paoa had arrived in their district. As they pulled along in the dark, the people of the Ngatipaoa heard the noise of their paddles, and they

called out "Where do you we hear paddling in that canoe come from?" And they answered them, "Oh, we belong to this district." Then they again asked them, "Which of our villages are you coming from?" And they told them, "We come from Te Kari!" Then they asked them, "What is the news there?" And they replied, "Oh, not much; the great piece of news is, that Paoa is there; and we are going up the river that Taharua may hear the news." Then they asked, "Will Paoa and his party come up the river to-morrow?" And they answered, "Yes, in the morning, as soon as the tide makes and some food has been cooked for them to eat before they start; but we must pull on." And the others answered, "Depart, then; pull well on your journey."

And when the people at the village of Te Matai heard their paddles as they pulled up the river, they asked them just the same questions as they were asked at Rangiora; they then pulled on to the village of Te Mangarahi, and told the people there the very same news; and, in the same manner, as they passed the village of Tutu they told the news there. At last they landed at Opukeko, which was the fortified village of the chief Taharua. There also they asked them the news, saying, "What news have you brought, that you thus come pulling up the river by night?" And they answered, "We come to let you know that here is Paoa arrived at the village of Te Kari." And they asked, "Is it really Paoa, or some of his people?" They replied, "It is really Paoa." "When will he arrive?" They answered, "By and by; he will probably not be able to travel quickly. The people of the villages will try to detain him; for he is a stranger in these parts, and they will wish to entertain him." Then the others asked them, "But which place is it that they are coming to visit, to stop there for some time as guests?" They answered them, "It is here they are coming—to this village; therefore it was that we came here, that you might be aware of their intention." And the others replied, "It was very good of you." Then they all slept.

The next morning Tukutuku arose very early, and employed herself in melting fragrant gums to perfume her house with. As for the visitors who were coming to stay with them, they continued their journey, and pulled up the river as far as the village at Rangiora; and there, as the people called to them with cries of "Welcome, welcome!" they landed, and remained for that day and night.

The next morning they again resumed their journey; and when they reached the village of Mangarahi a large number of people ran out to welcome them, and to beg them to stay there; and being thus invited by the inhabitants of that village, they

remained there. As for Paoa, he still would wear the cloak. And his companions said to him, "O, do not you throw off that old coarse thing? before much time, rough collar will rub all the hair off the back of you." And he answered, "Never mind; it will do." In all respects he behaved in the same way in which he had done in the others they had rested at.

That night, and the next morning they again pulled up the river. And when they reached the river, its inhabitants all shouted out to them with cries and invited them to come on shore. And the people came to the river to escort Paoa up to their village; and he and his party passed the night at that village. A messenger, who had been sent from Taharua's village, reached Tutu. He had been sent there to find out how far he had arrived upon his journey; and as none of Taharua's village knew him, as he was a stranger, he had been directed to observe his appearance, so as to point him out from his companions when they arrived, and to let them all know which was Paoa. This messenger, finding that Paoa and his party intended the next morning to pull up to the village of Taharua, returned there the next day; and when he reached the village, he told them that the guests who were coming to visit them would arrive the next morning.

Tukutuku heard this, she spoke to her servants, saying, "My people, rise early in the morning, and gather round the courtyard and the house for the strangers." They had already prepared scents and fragrant gums to perfume the house with; and having now given these orders to her servants, she all retired to rest.

The next day, very early in the morning, Tukutuku went out and gave the necessary directions for preparing food for the strangers, and then returning she went inside of her house with perfumes and sweet-smellings, for it was her house which was to be allotted to the strangers for their arrival; and when she had thus perfumed it, she closed the sliding-door and the window, that the strangers might not escape; so that the house might smell delightful and agreeable to her guests when they arrived. She had also laid the floor of the veranda in front of her house to be covered with clean fine mats for the strangers to sit upon. The next morning the party who were coming to visit them began their journey, and the people of the village of Tutu went to the river, to escort them upon their way. As they were going, they were seen coming by the people of

Taharua's village, who were collected upon the top of the parapets of the fortification to salute them with songs of welcome; then was heard the cheering joyful sound of the ancient Maori song of welcome for strangers.

On they came, pulling straight for the landing-place; and as they landed they were saluted with cries of "Welcome, welcome!" and they came on towards the village; and when Paoa rose up in the canoe to land, he put on the same coarse old mat made of the leaves of the Ti tree. All the rest of his party were dressed in handsome cloaks; he alone wore an old, exceedingly shabby coarse cloak. His friends were all quite vexed with him, and asked him to throw off that shabby old thing; but he only replied, "That 'll do; I'll keep this cloak on." Although the rest were so well dressed, and Paoa so badly, yet those who had not seen him before had not long to look before they distinguished which was him, and said, "There! that's Paoa!" because his appearance was so much superior to that of the others; and yet they could not see his good garments, because they were covered by his coarse old cloak; and as for his hair, it was all rough and disordered, twisted up behind by the high collar of his old cloak, so that his hair all stuck up and his head looked quite shaggy. His friends felt quite discontented; for they said they wished him to look to advantage there, where he was a stranger. Thus they went along on the path to the village through the crowd which had collected to look at the strangers. At length they entered the village, and the courtyard which had been strewn with leaves for their reception; and those who were in front seated themselves in the veranda of the house which had been prepared for them. In the meantime Paoa followed on, the main part of the people thronging round him to look at him. When he came up to the house, he called out to his party, "Let us all go inside the house, and leave the outside vacant for these people to sit there." Then those of his party who were in front went on, and some of them laying hold of the door of the house drew it back; and no sooner was the door opened than out issued a very delicious smell, the sweet scent of the perfume; and they all cried out, "Oh! oh! how very sweet the house smells!" But what did Paoa care for the sweet perfume? and although the house was so beautified, and although the floor of it was covered with such beautiful variegated mats that he ought for very shame to have thrown aside his coarse old cloak, nevertheless he would not take it off, but, as soon as he had got into the house, lay down in it, to sleep in it, just as he was.

No long time elapsed ere food was spread before the strangers; it consisted of eels and sweet potatoes. As for Paoa, he did not

outside the house, but ate his food inside it, and then to sleep there again until evening, when the village assembled to dance before the strangers; the natives of New Zealand the dances of the Māori of the village of a chief. When the ranks of the dancers were formed, Paoa came out into the veranda of the house, seated himself there to look on, but he did not mingle with the dancers. When the people of the village had finished their dancing and singing, their visitors stood up to sing in their turn; and at length they also ceased. Then their guests retired into their house, after the evening was over, the principal inhabitants of the village all went out also, to hear what took place; and there also Tūkūtuku, the daughter of Taharua, the chief of the village, went and seated herself in the dark corner, at the end of the house, whence she could watch Paoa if he was seen. She often tried to draw near to Paoa, but she could not do so; and although she stayed in the house with the others, talking until the morning broke, she did not approach him.

On the morning, food was prepared for the visitors; and it was spread before them, they ate their food. They remained there; and for two days and nights they tried to approach Paoa; but she could not overcome her shyness, and she came not near him. Upon the third day the people said that they must return to their own place, being dull and tired from stopping so long. The inhabitants of the village heard of this his intention, and so did Tūkūtuku. The young chieftainess came to try to detain the visitors, and having come she said, "I hear you are about to go, and my visitors answered her, "'Tis true." And she said, "Do we not give you food enough, that you leave so soon? Nay, stop a little longer; then presently you shall return to your own village." And they replied, "Be it so."

On the next evening, when the servants of the young chieftainess were ordered, bringing a feast for the strangers, and laid out a table nicely dressed with eels before them, so that her guests for the first time, were fully aware of her wealth and substance. When night closed in, the dancers arranged themselves in ranks, and all the people of the village assembled, the strangers were to start the next day; and they all spent a long time to dance and sing, and at length they then all assembled in the house of their guests. The young chieftainess, Tūkūtuku, went and seated herself at the end of the house; Paoa too was lying at the side of the house near the door; that was the place he had occupied ever

since his arrival; for that seat in a house is always set apart for a chief, and no inferior person may occupy it. And it was not long before the young girl, according to the custom of her country, stretched out her hand and, taking Paoa's hand, pressed it. Of course the young girl had told her father and her mother of her love for Paoa, and they had given their consent to it; therefore it was that she stretched forth her hand to take Paoa's. But Paoa did not like this at all; for he feared, if he accepted her love, that he and his party might be slain by her tribe. He thought that her parents had not consented to her wishes. In the meantime the young girl again tried to take his hand; but Paoa rudely thrust her hand away.

Then also Paoa felt so vexed about her that he ordered his people to stop the song and dance; so the people of the place all broke up, and went out from the house of the strangers, and returned to their own homes; and the young girl was forced to go with them. And when she reached her father, she told him how she had put forth her hand to take Paoa's; and the old man said to her, "Did not he appear pleased at this sign of your love?" And she answered, "Alas, no!"

Then her mother said to her, "Go back again, and try again, and take some of your female friends as witnesses with you, lest the man say that your anxiety to gain his love arises from your own wishes alone. He is doubtless afraid lest he and his people should be slain; he thinks undoubtedly that your father and I have not given our consent. Go, and do not be afraid."

Then the young girl went, with four of her female friends, she making the fifth; and she seated herself for a time outside in the open air (for she felt herself abashed at Paoa having so rudely thrust her hand away), and she then told one of her companions to go and fetch him; and when this female came to Paoa, she said to him "Come along alone with me." But Paoa answered, "Where to?" And she said, "Oh, just here; it is a young lady who sent me to you." But Paoa's young men observing this, said, "Oh, we had better all go together." But the female who had been sent to fetch Paoa said, "No, no; do you all stop here, do not come." Then Paoa's people murmured amongst themselves, saying, "Who may this woman be?" And others of them answered, "Oh, it is one of the female friends of Tukutuku, whom we see always going about with her in the daytime." And they answered them, "So it is; perhaps, then, Tukutuku sent her to fetch Paoa."

In the meantime Paoa had gone off with the messenger. They went along together until they came to a house, in the veranda of which they found Tukutuku sitting with her female friends. The floor of the house was nicely covered with floor-

mats, and the house was made to smell sweetly from sweet-scented Tawhiri leaves being scattered about it.

As soon as Tukuruku saw Paoa coming, she welcomed him by crying out, "Welcome, welcome!" As for him, he sat down at the door of the house, for he felt quite ashamed when he saw that there were only females there. But Tukuruku's friends called out to Paoa, "You are welcome; pray walk inside the house."

So Paoa entered the house, and seated himself; as for Tukuruku, she and her friends were seated in the veranda. One side of the house was left for Paoa. The house was lighted with a lamp, made of twisted flax dipped in shark's oil; and one of Tukuruku's companions kept on trimming the lamp which she held.

When Tukuruku and her friends had entered the house, her companions said, "We will go now." But Tukuruku stopped them, begging them to stay, saying, "Let us all pass the night here, until to-morrow's dawn has well broken." They still, however, persisted in leaving her; but she still detained them; so they remained, and they let the lamp go out, and they all prepared to sleep.

Then Paoa said to Tukuruku, "Are you of noble birth?" And she answered him, "I am nobly born. There is no other great prince in these districts except my father." Then he replied, "That is very good; as you say it, it is true, and pleases me." Again he spoke to her, saying, "Is your nation a powerful nation?" And the young girl answered, "They are so. If you would see the greatness of my race, look as far as the mountains of Moechau [at Cape Colville]; they reach to there. Did you see them as you passed Rawhaki?" Paoa answered her, "Yes, I did see them." And the young girl said again, "From thence my father's territories extend right round the Cape and along the coast to the eastward as far as Katikati; there they end, that is the limit."

Paoa then spoke to her, saying, "As for me, I have no people over whom I rule, I am but a sojourner in the land; my own country is Whiapu [or the East Cape];" and then he related to her the manner and cause of his coming to that country, down to the time of his arriving at her village.

When the next day had well broken, Paoa arose and returned to his friends, and to the people who formed his retinue, and the young girl and her companions returned to her mother's house; and her companions spoke to her mother, saying, "Paoa came to our house." And the old lady asked them, saying, "Who brought him there?" And they answered, "We did; our young mistress told us to bring him there!" And her mother answered, "It is well."

Before long the news became spread abroad, that Paoa and Tukutuku were man and wife. Then a war-party, led by the young chiefs who would fain have had Tukutuku for their wife, came to molest Taharua, the father of the young girl, and to demand a payment from him, and they said they would also attack and rob Paoa and his people out of revenge; but Taharua stopped them, saying, "Let the war-party rob me alone; but do not go to our guests. What right have you to trouble men who have done no wrong?" In truth, the young girl was betrothed to no man; she avoided all her lovers, she did not like any of them; therefore the war-party molested Taharua without any just cause or reason. Yet that day many war-parties came to molest and rob Taharua; and then they ceased, there was an end of them.

Finally those who had accompanied Paoa paddled away to their homes again; but he remained with his young wife, with Tukutuku. When a month had expired, he said to her that he was anxious to return to his own village on the Piako. And the young wife answered, "So? well, then, let us go together, and make our journey in such a manner that you may see all my subjects and all my relations, and that they may see me, lest they get vexed at my long tarrying away from them; for it is some time since I sent to them, saying, 'I am about to come down the river to see you!'" Paoa replied to her, "Yes, yes; do let us go together."

So they rested that night, and next morning, as soon as the sun rose, they got into their canoes and paddled down the river, and they landed at each one of the same villages which Paoa had stopped at when he came up the river, village for village, until they came out of the mouth of the river into the gulf; and by this time her subjects had given to their young chieftainess two large canoes full of baskets of shell-fish, which had been taken from their shells and then strung upon strings and dried in the sun. Thus Paoa saw how great was the esteem in which they held his young wife, so that he said, "Nothing could be better than his young wife for a great chieftainess for the country."

Having quitted the river, they paddled on and landed at Tararu, and stopped there, and his young wife left there the presents of dried shell-fish which she had received, intending to take them on board the canoes again upon her return; and they slept that night at Tararu.

The next morning, when the sun arose, they again paddled on upon their journey, until they reached Te Puru, where they landed, and there a present of dried fish was made to them; and they returned the same day to Waiau.

There Paoa first tasted the mussels of Waiau, which place belonged to his wife; and he liked that place very much on account of the goodness of its mussels; then they continued their homeward journey from that place, and, as they returned, six canoes full of baskets of dried shell-fish were given to them; and when they again reached Tararu, they began to return up the river towards the Piako. When they arrived at Pareparenga, Tukutuku desired the people to give her a supply of fish, and they obeyed her orders; and Paoa was therefore much pleased with the people of Pareparenga, and said that his wife should indeed be a ruler over them. Thus she continued to act towards all the people that they met with upon their journey, until they reached Paoa's own village; they there presented him with a canoe full of dried fish: presents of dried eels had been made to them from place to place, as they pulled along the shore. And the people of Paoa's village were all charmed with Tukutuku; they all quite devoted themselves to her. She treated them most kindly, and they in return dealt very affectionately with her. And when all the provisions she had brought with her were consumed, from the liberal manner in which she shared them with Paoa's people, she, in no way daunted, began to work most industriously to collect new supplies, by digging up the roots of the whanake, and of the pohue, and of the karito, and by collecting uruhe and fresh-water mussels (unios). And when Paoa's people saw this, they exclaimed, "It is no wonder that the fame of this girl spread so far and wide; is not she truly industrious?" And when they saw their chieftainess labour so industriously, they for very shame began to labour also: hitherto they had not known the value of the above sorts of food; and partly from that cause, partly from their indolence, partly because they grew wild, they had not taken the trouble to collect them. But now they repeated the proverbs:—"The deeds of a real chief surpass indeed those of other men;" and, "The hard inside heart of a Tawa tree differs much, in the uses it can be applied to, from the soft outside sap of the tree;" and, "Well done! you are a chief of men indeed!"

The chieftainess dwelt there, and greatly increased the number of the new tribe she was collecting round her; many resorted to her: at first she had but very few dependants; but from her generosity and graciousness they now became many, so that her fortified village was thickly inhabited. And she had many children; for ten had been born to her. One of them was her renowned son, Horowhenua; he was the youngest, the last-born of her children.

Paoa dwelt there with her too: he had grown old, so that he was forced to support his steps with a staff. At last his affec-

tion for his first children broke forth ; and he said to his sons who were with him, " My children, let me be taken to see your elder brothers." They all assented to his wish but Horowhenua ; and he said, " Sirs, they will set our sire a task to do ; those children of his are a thoughtless set." His brothers asked him, " What task will they give him to do ?" And he answered them, " He is aged, and a sacred person, and they will detain him there, to bless their plantations of sweet potatoes for them, that they may bring forth abundantly ; but take him there, as you seem to wish it." But they said, " Nay, but rather let him go with twenty chosen men of our people to take care of him." Horowhenua answered them, "'Tis well ; then if our brethren detain him there, let those who go with him return here to us, that we may be certified by them that he is so detained ; then will we go and bring him back here again." His brothers answered him, " So be it." Then he said to his father Paoa, " Sir, do not delay long there. If you had been younger, it would have been well that you should have been longer absent ; but now that your days must be so few, we cannot afford to lose any of them : and as for this, also, remember that none would think it fitting that an aged man, as good as dead, should have a task appointed him to do." And Paoa answered, " Oh, you don't think they will give me some task to do ?" And Horowhenua replied, " They will give you a task. Who can believe they will treat you with the consideration that we do ? But at least delay not long away from us ; remain with them for ten days (that will be enough) and then return to us. Certainly you should see your children." Paoa answered, "'Tis well ; I will sleep here this night, and as the morrow dawns I will depart upon my journey."

So Paoa started to see his first family ; and as they separated from their friends to go upon their road, Horowhenua said to those who were sent with the old man to take care of him, " If they detain there him whom we commit to your charge, return here speedily, that we may all go and fetch him back with us ;" and they answered him, " It shall be so."

Then they continued their journey, and reached the top of the range at Tikitikimaurea ; and Paoa beheld from thence his own former abode, and the abode of his children, and he wept ; and as he gazed on the Waikato district, and saw the fires at the village of Waitawheta sending up columns of smoke, he told those who accompanied him that there was the dwelling-place of his children, and he wept again ; and then they proceeded on their journey. And they halted for the night and slept upon the road, for they travelled slowly from having Paoa under their care ; for he was old, and stayed his steps with a staff.

The day broke, again they went on their way, and just as evening closed in they reached the outskirts of the village ; and as the inhabitants of it saw them, they began to call to the others, "Strangers! strangers! here are strangers here." And one ran to meet them to find out who they were. He, finding out that it was Paoa, ran back again, and questioned as to who the strangers were by the crowd who assembled at the outcry, he told them, "It is Paoa, and he is very aged, and supports his steps with a staff." Then Paoa, he stopped with his party at the first house which he inhabited that he came to on the outskirts of the village ; and his sons remained in the fortress of Waitawheta, because it was the first time that the old chief had returned to see his sons since he had separated himself from them and from their friends.

The next morning the old man took his belt to gird himself and said to those who accompanied him, "Now let us go to the fortified village, that I may see my children ;" and they answered, "Be it so." Then came those who had been appointed to conduct him to the village, and those who had been sent to give him a present of food, that he and his people might be refreshed before the ceremonies of weeping and lamenting took place at his meeting his sons.

Paoa bid those who had accompanied him to eat heartily of this food ; and they did so ; and when their meal was ended the messenger who had been sent to conduct them said, "Now let us proceed to the village ;" and Paoa answered, "Certainly ; so now, my friends, get on your backs again the loads which you have carried so far, and let us start."

Then when those in the fortified village who had climbed up upon the fences, or crowded outside the gates, saw Paoa and his party coming along, they raised the usual cries of welcome, and waved their garments ; and the old man wept aloud as he came slowly towards them. And so, he weeping and they loudly shouting "Welcome, welcome !" he came slowly on ; and when he reached the open space in the centre of the fortified village, all the people wept aloud, and their voices sounded loud as howl of a great company of dogs ; and they continued thus to lament aloud throughout the day, until evening closed in ; then they all collected in a semicircle, and seated themselves on the ground, and then arose the sons of Paoa and made speeches welcoming their father in the presence of the whole assembly, and the old man rose up and addressed his sons and all their people in their turn. Then were many flax baskets of food brought forth, and piled up to a very goodly height, and they all feasted until after night-fall. The principal people then assembled in the house

which had been set apart for Paoa, that they might mutually hear and tell the news; and the hearts of the sons of Paoa were filled with gladness towards their aged sire; for they thought within themselves, "Surely he is come to bless our plantations of sweet potatoes for us, that they may produce abundantly."

After a time his sons said to him, "Great is our good fortune, that you have thus come to us." And he answered them, "Why so, my children?" And they answered him, "That you may bless for us our plantations of sweet potatoes." And when the old man heard them say this he laughed; and his sons said to him, "Why laughest thou, O our father?" And he answered them, "Nay, I did but laugh." But they answered him again, "Nay, but tell us wherefore thou didst laugh, O father." And he replied, "It was but something that your servant Horowhenua said." And they answered him, "Whose saying do you speak of?" And he replied, "It was a direction given by your servant Horowhenua." And they answered, "As for us, we regard not what he says." But the old man said to them, "Look, now, my children; you had better be careful what you do, for he is strong and fierce." But they answered him with the proverb, "Who fears for a fierceness not more terrible than that of a rat?" Again he said to them, "My children, his elder brothers said not a word against my coming here; he alone opposed my wishes, objecting to my coming here; he would hardly let me come." And they said, "Very well, then, we will not now let you return to him." But he answered, "Nay, do not detain me; for then your servant will come and take me forcibly away." And they said, "Let him not venture to come here to take you away; for if he does, we will slay him."

Those who had been sent to bear Paoa company sat by and heard these things said, and straightway they returned; and when they reached the Piako, even the village from which they had started, Horowhenua questioned them, saying, "Is there any news?" And they said, "Yes, there is news: Paoa is detained and will not be permitted to return here." Horowhenua then asked, "Who detains him?" And they replied, "His sons." And he said, "Aye, I knew it would be so." Then they added, "But Paoa spoke to them and said, 'Now, take care; for if you detain me here, your servant will presently come and take me away by force, he will not remain where he is, he will come for me;' and your brothers said to him, 'Who will come and do this?'" and he answered "Horowhenua will come and do it;" and they replied, "If he ventures to come here we will slay him;" then Paoa answered him, "That you are not strong enough to do; your servant is like a mighty fish, which cannot be held in the fisher's net, but rends it;" and they again replied, "Nay,

rather we say, is a net so strong that it is a fit enemy for great whales?'"

When Horowhenua heard this he said, "Well, they shall have what they wish. I shall see them lying dead before me ere long." Then he rose, and said aloud to those around him, "Gird yourselves for the battle, start for your journey to bring back our chief and father. Before he went, I cautioned you, saying, 'Let him not go;' it is you who have brought this upon us." And his elder brothers dared not to open their mouths, or to say a word in reply, because they felt that their advice had turned out badly. So Horowhenua commanded them all, saying, "Gird yourselves for war." And his brothers consenting, their warriors all did so, and proceeded on their expedition; one hundred and forty warriors started to bring home Paoa by force.

So they travelled upon their way, and by the evening they had reached the summit of the range at Tikitikimaurea, and looked over the district of Waikato; and there they could see the fires of the village of Waitawheta burning brightly with long columns of smoke ascending from them. There in the village was Paoa dwelling with his sons and six hundred of their warriors. When they had for some time gazed over the extensive district which lay beneath them Horowhenua said, "Let us descend from the mountain range, and sleep at its base, at the head of the river. Mangawara." Then they journeyed on, till they reached the place he had named. He said, "Halt! we will make our camp here; at the morning's light we will go to the fortified village of my brothers, and urge them to let our father return with us; and if his sons then refuse to let him go, it is enough, what more can we do? then we will return; we can do no more; we shall at least have come to fetch him back with us." His brothers assented to what he said, and they discussed the matter; and when they had ended their conversation, food was shared out for all; and when they had eaten, all slept.

They had not slept long when the seer Tipa cried out, and roused them, saying, "You who sleep there, awake, arise; I have been troubled by visions which bode ill; the omens have filled me with alarms: there will be a battle tomorrow in which many will be slain. The omens warned me, making me start on my right, or fortunate side; and on my left, or enemies' side; I felt it too: then four times my left side shuddered, and then four times my right side; thence the victory is to be to us. So I will address myself to sleep again; then, if the spirit who is propitious to our foes repays the omens of the spirit friendly to us by making my left side again involuntarily to shudder, the omens will be unpropitious, and this very night we will return,

in which case the battle upon the morrow, in which the Gods foretell so many will fall, will not take place."

Then another of the party spoke and said that he, too, had shuddered in his sleep, and, starting, had thrown his arms out from his side as if striking down a foe, which was a good omen; on the other part, a third said that he had dreamt they were all eating the provisions they had brought with them—a dream which portended much evil. Before they had slept they had intended at the dawn of day to have gone to the fortified village as friendly visitors, and then to have tried to bring Paoa back with them. Now, from these evil-boding dreams, they all feared the thoughts of approaching the village.

When it drew near to the morning, the seer Tipa rose again, and said, "Their Gods have given me no bad omens in return for the good one I had received; I have kept expecting it in vain, but the dreadful shuddering has not returned to me. Lo, I see the signs of dawn; awake, arise, and let us arrange our plans." Then the warriors all arose; and Tipa addressing them said, "Without doubt the old and sacred man has, according to the custom of our priests, gone out in the early morning light to bless the plantations of sweet potatoes belonging to his sons, which lie immediately outside the fence of their fortified village; and the warriors all agreed that such was probably the case. Then said Tipa, "Which, then, of you will go and see?" And Horowhenua answered, "That be my care. I will go and see; and if I find him I will bring him here." And Tipa answered, "'Tis well; and having got there, delay not."

So Horowhenua rose up; and taking with him his two-handed wooden sword, he departed. At the very same time the old man had just arrived in the midst of the plantation of sweet potatoes, and was blessing them; and having blessed the division of the plantation which belonged to one of his sons, he had gone on to bless the other; and as soon as he had stuck into the ground his consecrated staff, he repeated this incantation, proper for the occasion :—

There stands the consecrated staff;
It is the staff sacred to the God Turora, to Rereahi,
And to Turongo.
There is the holy staff;
There, there it stands.
There stands the staff,
With the toctoc* sacred to the God Haka
And to Haua.
There stands the holy staff;
There, there it stands.

* A species of reed, the leaves of which were tied on the staff.

The instant the aged chief had finished his blessing, there stood Horowhenua before him. Day had not yet fully broken ; but the dawn was just breaking. The old man, seeing some one, said, " Who is this ? " And Horowhenua answered, " It is I. " And his father knew his voice, and he murmured lowly in reply, for he feared lest he should be slain by his other sons ; for there were very many warriors in the fortified village—there were six hundred of them. Then his father asked him, " Who have borne you company ? " And his son ran over all their names for him ; and when he had finished them all, the old man was filled with pity for them, and with wonder at their boldness. Then Horowhenua said to him, " Let us be gone, the day begins to break. " And his father consenting, they hurried away together.

In the meantime the people in the fortified village kept listening for the voice of the old man, when he might call them out, having finished his mystic ceremonies. And having waited a long time without hearing it, some of them said, " Surely, he has become tired and has fallen asleep. " His sons answered, " Some of you go and see. " So some of their people went to search for him ; and they called as they went, " Where are you, Sir, where are you, Sir ? " At length, not finding him, some of them said, " Perhaps he has fallen asleep on the sand at the river's edge. " So they searched along the banks, and there they found on the sand foot-prints going right inland. By this time day had so fully broken that men could see each other's features ; therefore the footprints could be seen quite plainly, and they saw that they were those of Horowhenua and Paoa ; so they knew that the old man had been carried off by Horowhenua. So they raised the cry of " He has been carried off, taken away by Horowhenua. " And Paoa's sons heard the outcry, and they sprang to their feet, and they and their six hundred men rushed out of the fortress : so the fugitives were pursued. And when Horowhenua reached his brothers and his warriors, he gave no time to welcome their father and chief with tears and weeping according to the usual custom, but they went straight upon their way homewards ; for they heard the uproar from the pursuers in the distance. And ere long the pursuers came in sight of them, and saw them winding up a steep ascent of the mountain range : those who were leading the old chief and helping him on his way were in front ; and Horowhenua brought up the rear with the rear guard. On came the six hundred warriors in pursuit, dashing at them as a (Kahawai) salmon darts at a fly, and soon drew near them. Already had those who were in front, conducting Paoa, won the very summit of the ridge at Tikitikimaurea : then the old man said, " Children, leave me here, and save yourselves. I am an old man ; why should you

run this risk for me? my life is not worth that of one of my children."

In the meantime their pursuers pressed close upon them. And Horowhenua rushed back in front of the rear guard, and then took a firm stand, brandishing his weapon. When Horowhenua thus stood firm, the whole hundred and forty warriors of his party took their stand with him; and then when Horowhenua made a charge to the rear, they all charged with him. Here some of his warriors were slain; five of them fell. At last Horowhenua was left fighting alone, right in the front of the battle; and his half-brother Toawhena seeing him there, strikes a blow at him with his weapon; Horowhenua parries it with his, and away it glances. Then Toawhena in his turn is fiercely smitten by Horowhenua; and down, down he goes. In the meantime up comes Toapoto to his brother's aid; he lets fly a blow at Horowhenua, which he parries on his right side, and returns a left-handed blow, which fells Toapoto to the earth. And when the warriors saw their two chiefs thus slain, they broke and fled in confusion; but they were pursued and slaughtered; four hundred of them were slain, two hundred of them escaped; and then Paoa was carried off in triumph by his children.

I have alluded to the strong probability that the social state of our British ancestors in many respects closely resembled that of the New-Zealanders. In the pride of rank, station, and power, nations, like individuals, are too apt to forget the humble origin from which they sprang. In our own case we have but few materials for adequately realizing the former state of the English nation. The notices we find scattered throughout the earliest missionary letters relating to the conversion of Britain are our best guides to its former social state, as documents of exactly the same characters are our best guides in the present day as to the state of New Zealand when Christianity was introduced into that country.

However humbling it may be to our pride, we shall find that, when the Pope was a powerful, honoured, and benignant prince, and the city of Rome a civilized and beneficent power in the world, our own ancestors must have been in a state in many respects not very different from that of the New-Zealanders when British missionaries established themselves in that country—that is, within a period which living men can well remember.

In the year 625, Pope Boniface thus concluded a letter which he sent through the missionaries to the glorious Edwin, King of the English:—

"We have moreover sent you the blessing of your Protector,

the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles ; that is, a shirt, with one gold ornament, and one garment of Ancyra, which we pray your Highness to accept with the same good will as is intended by us."

And to the Queen of King Edwin Pope Boniface wrote thus :—

"To the glorious Lady his daughter, Queen Ethelberga, Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God," &c.

And then, after giving the Christian queen the most admirable and touching advice, how by the display of Christian graces, she should strive to win the unconverted king to the true faith, the Pope goes on to say :—

"We have moreover sent you the blessing of your Protector, St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles ; that is, a silver looking-glass, and a gilt ivory comb, which we beg your highness to accept with the same good will as it is known to be sent by us."

It is difficult for us now, travelling back over the space of more than twelve hundred years, and all the varying phases of civilization which have passed in that time, to realize to ourselves the King of England sitting in one part of a kind of hut, awkwardly trying on so novel a garment as a shirt in the presence of his admiring chieftains, whilst in another corner sat our scantily clad queen, coyly and shyly peeping at her royal face in a mirror, which her laughing maids of honour and her female attendants afterwards passed from one to the other with strange ejaculations of wonder and surprise.

Let me give one illustration more to show the almost grotesque fidelity with which, in somewhat corresponding stages of society, the same images are produced in races wide as the poles asunder.

Taking up Caxton's 'Golden Legend,' published in 1483, and turning to the "Life of St. Patrick," we find the following event recorded as having occurred in Ireland.

"After it happed on a tyme, that a man of that contre stole a shepe which bylonged to his neyghbour, where upon Saynt Patryke admonished the peple, that who somever had taken hit, shold delyuer it ageyn whythin seven dayes, when al the peple were assembled wythin the chyrche, and the man whiche had stolen it made no semblaunce, to render or delyuer agayn thys shepe. Thenne Saynt Patryke commanded by the vertu of God, that the shepe sholde blete and crye in the belly of hym that had eten hit, and so happed it, that in the presence of al the peple, the shepe cryed and bled in the belly of him that had stolen hit, and the man that was culpable repented hym of his trespace, and the other fro thenne forth on kepte them fro stelyng of shepe fro ony other man."

If now we turn to the New-Zealand legends, we shall find that a dog was stolen from a chief named Whakaturia, and eaten, that the dog was in vain sought for, and that all denied having been guilty of the theft; at last Whakaturia, accompanied by his relation Tama-te Kapua, who was a renowned priest, entered the village where the thief resided, and the priest then, in the presence of all the people, called on the dog, commanding it to howl in the belly of the thief who had eaten it. The dog accordingly howled in the belly of a chief named Toi. In vain Toi held his mouth closely shut, pressing his hand over it. The dog continued to howl away, till Toi cursed it, saying, "Oh! hush, hush! I thought I had hid you in the big belly of Toi; and there you are, you cursed thing, still howling away." Thus the theft was discovered, the thief was punished, and an end put to dog-stealing.

You must pardon me delaying you whilst I say a few words which, at the present time, may be very useful to a race in whose welfare I have for many years taken the deepest interest.

I have called your attention to the period of revolt against the further encroachments of civilization which invariably takes place, in some form or other, in the history of every barbarous race in its progress from barbarism to civilization. Now, such revolt, in most instances with which we are acquainted, takes at the same time the form of a revolt against Christianity, and culminates in an attempt to overthrow the Christian faith.

When such an event takes place the cry is too generally raised, that truly barbarous races are incapable of receiving the truths of Christianity—that its pure doctrines were only intended for certain races which were capable of receiving them, of appreciating them, and of profiting by them; and, forgetful of all the teachings of history, men are too ready to conclude that a race is incapable of becoming a Christian nation which, after years of acquaintance with Christianity, and after all the leading chiefs and the great bulk of the nation have apparently embraced the Christian religion, can suddenly renounce its truths, turn upon its Christian teachers and expel them from amongst them, and set up a religion which mingles, in grotesque confusion, Christian and Pagan rites and doctrines. Another reason is thus found for alleging that it is only in the extermination of such a race that we can look for the attainment of permanent peace, Christianity, and progress in the country which it inhabits.

Now, in truth, as Christianity and civilization have gone hand in hand, as those who were becoming civilized had generally accepted the Christian doctrines, as those who had remained

barbarous had for the most part clung to their pagan faith, the revolt against civilization, involved in itself, as an almost necessary consequence, a revolt against Christianity.

That the occurrence of such a circumstance in the history of a semibarbarous race need not fill us with despair, the history of our own country fully shows. No country has more thoroughly embraced and held by the Christian faith than Britain; no country has made greater efforts to spread a knowledge of Christian doctrines amongst mankind; no country has been benefited more largely by its steadfast adherence to the Christian faith. Yet no country in its early history afforded more astounding examples of such revolts against Christianity as I have alluded to; for example, such revolts took place in 616, 633, and 635, as well as at other periods. I will confine my observations to the first of them.

Ethelbert, King of the English, had, about the year 597, embraced the Christian faith. Gregory was at that time the Pope; and he not only corresponded with King Ethelbert, but sent him also a few small presents, not, apparently, of such value as the shirt and woollen garment which Pope Boniface subsequently sent to King Edwin.

Ethelbert, after gloriously governing his kingdom for fifty-six years, died in 616, the Christian bishops expressing their full belief that so good and Christian a king had entered into the eternal joys of the kingdom which is heavenly.

Yet no sooner was King Ethelbert dead than such a revolt against Christianity as I have spoken of broke out; his son and successor Eadbald, led astray by evil influences, and the popular wish, joined in it; a form of paganism was again firmly established, apparently much resembling in its general features the Hauhau faith, which has suddenly risen in New Zealand. Bishop Mellitus was driven out of the kingdom, and, a conference of Bishops having been held, it was unanimously agreed that it was better for them all to return to their own country, where they might serve God in freedom, than to continue without any advantage among those barbarians who had revolted from the faith.

Any one who has watched the course of recent events in New Zealand, will see the remarkable parallelism between these events and the similar ones in Britain in A.D. 616. It only remains for us to remember that one faithful teacher lingered in Britain in 616 when all the others withdrew; and he was ultimately able to send over into France to his brother bishops, to tell them that their former flocks were returning to Christianity, and that they might safely come back to govern their churches, which they accordingly did, finding indeed how unwise and premature

had been their conclusion that their teaching had been without any advantage among those barbarians who had revolted from the faith.

It was upon such successes as these Christian teachers enjoyed, and upon such revolts against Christianity as appalled them and staggered their imperfect faith, that was built up that glorious and wide-spread Christian freedom in the midst of which we are all assembled here to-night.

Mr. LECKY, in his recent most brilliant work on the History of Morals, has given his reasons for concluding that fairy tales are the normal product of a certain condition of the imagination, and that the belief in fairies will invariably be found to exist in companionship with a certain form of society—that is, wherever there is an ignorant and rustic population. This is an undoubted truth in the case of the ignorant and rustic ancient population of New Zealand, whose fairy tales closely resembled those of Europe: but it is only a partial truth; for it holds good of a belief not only in fairies but in dragons, and of all similar delusive beliefs which the human mind is capable of conceiving. The real law which governs this subject would seem to be, that the human imagination is only capable of much more restricted flights than we are in the habit of attributing to it, and that, whatever may be the race or people, the limits to which it can reach in each stage of civilization are soon attained, and that consequently, instead of having new images presented to our minds as we explore the poetry, legends, and works of imagination of newly-discovered races, we find the same beliefs recurring with an almost monotonous and tedious uniformity and only so slightly varied as the features of the country and the kind of animals inhabiting it, or the circumstances of the society render absolutely unavoidable.

In illustration of this I will quote one or two passages from Spenser's 'Faery Queen,' together with corresponding passages from New-Zealand dragon legends. These quotations from Spenser contain descriptions of dragons so apparently natural, and expressed with such minute grandeur of language, that for two centuries and a half they have justly claimed the admiration of all who love English poetry and the English tongue; yet their strict verbal and poetical conformity with the corresponding New-Zealand legends are such as at first to lead to the impression either that Spenser must have stolen his images and language from the New-Zealand poets, or that they must have acted unfairly by the English bard—the truth being that Spenser has simply recorded images which had their existence given to them long before his time, and in a certain

state of civilization in England, and that under similar circumstances in New Zealand the human imagination, giving reins to its fancy, had, of very necessity, fallen upon exactly similar images.

These are some of the passages to which I allude.

“Eftsoons that dreadful dragon they espied,
Where stretched he lay upon the sunny side,
Of a great hill, himself like a great hill.”—*Spenser.*

“Hardly had Hotupuku (the dragon) scented a smell like the scent of men, ere he came creeping out of his den; the war party were still hidden by the slope of the hill and the bushes from him, and he from them. Before they saw him, alas! alas! he had stolen down upon them; and ere they could break and fly when they did see him, he was so large and near that he looked like a great hill!”—*New-Zealand Legend.*

“With that they heard a roaring hideous sound,
That all the air with terror filled wide,
And seemed un’neath to shake the stedfast ground;
Eftsoons that dreadful dragon they espied!”—*Spenser.*

“Like the crashing and rumbling of thunder was the loud roaring sound made by the dragon in rushing forth from its den!”

N.-Z. Legend.

“But all so soon as he from far descryed
Those glistring arms, that heaven with light did fill,
He roused himself full blythe, and hastened them untill.”
Spenser.

“The huge dragon when it saw its favourite food (the warriors) all ready, as it were a meal prepared for it, joyed exceedingly, and, opening wide its vast mouth, stretched forth its tongue to lick them in, and hastened out of its den.”—*N.-Z. Legend.*

“As for great joyaunce of his new-come guest,
Eftsoons he ’gan advance his haughty crest,
As chaffed boar his bristles doth uprear,
And shook his scales to battle ready dress’d.”—*Spenser.*

“By the power of these prayers and incantations, the large-pointed spines of the crest of the dragon sank down flat again upon its back, although just now they had been all standing erect, as he joyed to think he should devour the men he smelt.”—*N.-Z. Legend.*

“But stings and sharpest steel—did far exceed
The sharpness of his cruel rending claws.”

“But his most hideous head to tell
My tongue does tremble.”

“And over all with brazen scales was armed;
His large long tail, wound up in hundred folds,
Does overspread his long brass-scaly back.”—*Spenser.*

"It lay there, in size large as a monstrous whale, in shape like a hideous lizard; for in its huge head, its limbs, its tail, its scales, its tough skin, its sharp spines, yes, in all these it resembled a lizard."

N.-Z. Legend.

"His blazing eyes, like two bright shining shields,
Did burn with wrath and sparkle living fire."

"So flamed his eyes with rage and ravenous ire."

"But far within, as in a hollow glade,
Those glaring lamps were set that made a dreadful shade."

Spenser.

"They soon saw the terrible monster crouching there, with its fierce large eyes, round and flaming as the full moon, as it shoots up above the horizon. Whilst they watched those eyes they seemed to flash with various colours; and from the sun's bright rays playing through the green leafy places into the creature's covert, its eyes seemed to shine with a fierce green, as if a clear green jadestone had been set for a pupil in the dark black part of each of its eyes."

N.-Z. Legend.

Without pursuing this subject into many other similar details, I will add one other quotation from the 'Faery Queen.'

"I wot not whether the revenging steel
Were hardened with that holy-water dew,
Wherein he fell, or sharper edge did feel,
Or his baptized hands now greater grew,
Or other secret virtue did ensue,
Else never could the force of fleshly arm,
Nor molten metal, in his blood embrue."—*Spenser.*

The New-Zealand legends regarding dragons generally equally assert that it was only by some secret virtues, obtained by prayer or supernatural means, that their heroes were enabled to destroy dragons.

XXIII.—Notes on the Maoris of New Zealand and some Melanesians of the South-west Pacific. By the BISHOP OF WELLINGTON.

1. It may prepossess my hearers in favour of the Maoris of New Zealand, when I tell them that they are "born disciples of inductive science." Never did I meet with men more averse to hasty generalizations themselves, and more keen in showing up *our* tendency thereto. Perhaps I may be allowed to give an instance, though I would preface the story by saying that I am not going to tax your patience by illustrative anecdotes generally, bearing in mind a dictum of Chalmers—that there is a stage of

life lower than that of *dotage*, and that is "*Anec-dotage*." But I must illustrate my statement that the Maoris are disciples of inductive science, by recording the remark of a chief on the west coast, named Nepia Taratoa, when he heard that some English newspapers characterized the Maoris as savages, murderers, and cannibals, because some men had committed atrocities deserving of the name. He said that in the year 1850 a chief had gone to England and been presented to the queen, who had something the matter with his left eye; that in the year 1855 another chief, who had lost his left eye, went to England and was presented to the queen. Now, said he, if I was to send that wall-eyed nephew of mine to England, I should expect to see in the next file of English newspapers that "all Maoris have lost one of their eyes."

You may judge from this that we are obliged to be on our P's and Q's when arguing with a Maori; and I hope that I have so far learnt my lesson as to say that I shall now present to your notice observations I have made during my sojourn in New Zealand since 1850, and leave others to frame theories as to their Semitic, Aryan, Turanian, or mixed origin.

2. *Races*.—No one can live much among the Maoris (a word meaning "natural") without observing that there are two different casts of features and types of mind in New Zealand, besides the extranatural *Ma-ori-ori* found in the Chatham Islands.

These last are of a debased type as compared with either of the others, probably in consequence of their having been for some years slaves to those roving pirates, as I may call them, the Ngati-awa (the children of water).

I have had the teaching of some of the *Ma-ori-ori*, and found them duller of intellect and heavier in body and mind than any other Polynesians I have ever seen—in fact, more like some of the Australian Papuans whom I have had to teach, and whom I observe Mr. Wallace connects with Polynesians. But as with the Maoris, so with the Australians, I have seen and taught two perfectly distinct types of mental and bodily structures in both races. One Australian was as heavy, thick-lipped, broad-featured, and *amiable* as a *Ma-ori-ori*; the other was as keen, sharp-featured, and self-willed as the highest type of Maori; I say the highest type, because the chiefs generally, and some of the finest tribes, such as the Waitakos, have the high forehead, the straight nose, long hair, and intellectual haughty expression of what is, or used to be, called the Caucasian race; while the great mass of the people have the crisp woolly hair, the thick lips, the broad face, and good-humoured look of the negro, though highly improved and developed. If I remember right,

there is a description, in Merivale's 'History of the Romans under the Empire,' of the two types of *Kymrian* and *Keltic* face and character found in France, well illustrating the two types in New Zealand and in Australia.

3. *Caste*.—The only remnant of caste that I have observed, is the philological fact that the word which denotes a man's occupation, is the same as names the whole tribe—of which this is, I believe, the first attempt at an explanation; and Sir G. Grey, who is present, will be able to form an opinion of the value of my philological criterion. This word is Kai. If *tunu* means "to bake," kai-tunu is a baker. If *mahi* means "to work," kai-mahi is a workman. If *whakawa* means "to try a cause," kai-whakawa is a judge. But this word *kai* is, in the southern island, the same as *Ngati* in the northern island, which is the prefix of all, or nearly all, the tribes of New Zealand, and means "the children"—such as the Ngati-awa of whom I spoke just now, "the children of water." But the natives, near Dunedin and Canterbury Colony, are called Kai-tahu, "the children of fire-lighting"*.

Emigration seems to have done for the Maoris (supposing they had any such thing as caste in their original homes) what it did for the Greeks of old, when the Pelasgi and Hellenes had reached Europe. The old names of the Grecian tribes in Attica and Epirus, such as *ἐργάται*, *αἰγικορεῖς*, *ἰππεῖς* and *ἔλλοι*, would seem to speak of workmen, herdsmen, knights, and priests, who soon broke through their monopolies, and established the remarkable contrast that the Emperor of the French has observed of ancient and modern civilization—that every Roman (and he might have said Greek) was a statesman, a lawyer, a soldier, a sailor, &c., instead of having any such division of labour as we now pride ourselves on. I would say that in New Zealand every Maori is his own butcher, baker, fishmonger, poulterer, lawyer, and now, I may nearly add, his own clergyman, besides being a first-rate soldier, sailor, and statesman. [Absit omen! soldier, sailor, tinker, and tailor, &c.]

4. There seems always to be amongst the Maoris a form of government which Cicero considered to be the best, viz. a "*temperamentum*" of chief, with his aristocracy of birth, and a general democratic assembly. In fact, Mr. Gladstone's brilliant sketch of the Homeric "constitution" just accords with the Maori form of government as it existed when the English

* I may observe upon this change of *ng* into *k*, that the roving Ngatiawa, when they settled upon the south island, adopted the southern use of *k* for their own *ng*, and call (e. g.) their home Whakapuwhaka for Whangapuwanga. "*Græcia capta*," &c.

the country. There was the βασιλεὺς, or chief, the aristocratic families, and the λαὸς, or democracy, inevitable public opinion, or press, in the shape of τῆς βουλῆς, and with the name of *tikanga* in New Zealand, and you will say) "the no less inevitable" priesthood con-

Nothing can be more mistaken than to represent the Maoris as a people without law and order. They are, like the slaves of law, rule, and precedent, as much as we know of in this civilized hemisphere. That Burckhardt's, quoted in Dean Stanley's 'Lectures on the Church,' p. 192, is strictly applicable to the Maoris. "no contradiction between the wild habits of the Bechuanalanders and an elaborate, though purely traditional, system of legal observances."

The class of which I have anything to say is the priestly. It is now to many of us that they were ἐργαστήριμοι (ventriloquists), and that they maintained their influence by premonitions from their gods, which were really more or less than very clever feats of ventriloquism. I forget the surprise of some native Christians, when, as they thought, a quarrel outside the door between two natives, and, on rushing to see what was going on, found no quarrel, and when they were told that it was really done by a fishman who was sitting amongst us, they understood the priests, in former times, had seemed to be receiving communications from a god in the form of a spider on the walls. The spiders were consequently special objects of reverence and as the priests further told them that the souls of the faithful went to heaven on gossamer threads, they were forbidden not to break any spider's webs, or gossamers.

They were also supposed to be chosen by the Maori gods to dwell in their abodes; and when the worship lately revived, I saw a native come upon a *templum*, or sacred enclosure, in which he was caught, and supposed to be attracted by blood. I dug a trench round a pole stuck into a small mound of earth, and voluntarily I quoted Horace's words "Cruor in fossam it inde Manes elicerent."

Mr. Grey, the late Governor of New Zealand, who is now in England, could tell us that on the west coast, where the war had been raging, there was a tribe who worshipped idols; on the east coast, near where the late massacre occurred, he told me they worshipped trees (and serpents, I believe). Another object of worship in every part was the rainbow, under the name of Uenuku; and its influence was generally supposed to be good, whereas the Melanesians (of whom I shall have to say later in the evening) almost invariably dreaded

the rainbow, fled from it, and hid themselves, saying that "it pinched them." There are numerous stories of dragons, like our dragon of Wantley, afloat among the natives; and I have just received from New Zealand an account of one such in a freshwater lake: "it had jaws like a crocodile, and spouted water like a whale" (J. Hadfield), which pursued some bathers, and which I have very little doubt was a very large conger-eel, as the Maori's have frequently described attacks made upon them by such creatures. But whether conger eels can live in fresh-water lakes, I do not know.

There is one more belief, while I am speaking of priestcraft, which I would mention as often stated to me; and that is the peculiar gift of certain men, who, by their nervous sensibility, can discover where the beautiful greenstone of the south island, so like malachite, lies; just as in Devonshire and other parts of England, we all know that certain men profess to be able to discover a spring of water by holding a hazel-wand in their hands; and so old was this belief and assumption of power, that I remember, when I was a boy, learning from Ovid and the early Latin commentaries on the text, that "Virginea Water," the spring in the Roman forum, was so called because it was discovered by a damsel holding such a hazel wand in her hand.

5. I have a few words to say on cannibalism and Maori usages. I once heard an old chief defend the practice of cannibalism by the following induction. "Te kai a te manu, whaka-te-manu; te kai a te ika whaka-te-ika; te kai a te kuri whaka-te-kuri; te kai a te tangeta whaka-te-tangeta;" that is, "the food of the bird is birdward; the food of the fish is fishward; the food of the beast is beastward; the food of man is manward."

This is a striking corroboration of the argument used by Mr. Hutton at the Church Congress 1869, to the effect that the Christian law of pity was *no* Darwinian development of any physiological laws of nature. See 'John Bull,' October 9, 1869.

With regard to Maori usages, I have heard from a Maori of most reliable character, that he has observed his children, within three hours of their birth, exhibit certain ancient Maori warlike usages, such as putting out the tongue, quivering the hand, and turning up the eyeball.

6. As specimens of their intellectual power, I would say that their cosmogony is only inferior to the Mosaic, deriving matter from mind, and creation from no material atoms. I would say that their mode of expressing "Eternity" is in itself a clear and grand conception:—"No tua iho whakarere a mua tonu atu" ("that which exists before the stream of Time infinitely on-wards"). Their word for *conscience* is "the hidden woman." I would further observe that Hochstetter, the Austrian geologist,

their mythological legends about the volcanic mountains of the northern island were wonderfully exact descriptions of geological formations. I would again observe that though they knew the islands by different tribes sailing round them, their survey of the shape was nearly as correct as our

As regards the language, I would preface what I have been remarking that there is, strangely enough, only one of their own language (a congeries of three or four) which the English language cannot express. You will smile when I tell you that it is the word "digestion." "O dura maiorum ilia!" Müller has, if I recollect, divided languages into those that invert the order, and those that invert the order. The Maori inverts it, and says "hoiho-kaata." There is only one word I believe, to this in the language; and that is the word "genuine;" "a thorough man" is "he tino tangata." Again the Maori inverts the order of compounds of "fakalatin." The Maori has the exact word "whaka" for "and most of them pronounce it "faka;" but whereas the English say *calefacere* (to make warm), the Maori says *whaka*. They also have the word *pu*, which seems to have been hitherto akin to *φύω*, *fio*.

It is a remarkable peculiarity in their pronunciation which Mr. Max Müller would explain. They have no letter *l* in their own language; but yet the moment they have learnt once *s*, if that sound follows *r* (which they have in their language), they turn our *r* into *l*; thus the English word comes in their mouths *lice*; and, again, though they have *s*, the moment they have mastered our words ending in beginning with *p*, they prefix an *s* to the *p*, and for *spunch*, as Sunday-school children say "*Spontius*"

The commonest sound in their language is the nasal *ng*; it is always soft, like our word "*singing*," till they turn it into *k*, as I mentioned just now. The Maori, like all European languages, has two forms of the pronouns; as *you* and *me*, so they say *ahau* and *noku* (for the possessive

I should conclude by saying that the common trade-charge against the Maoris, that they have no word for gratitude is a mistake: they have the word *koha*; but they say, and are right in saying, that "the aroha, or love, which presses better than the gratitude which follows."

It must be brief upon the *Melanesians*, who, lying direct north of New Zealand, to the west of 180° east longitude, towards the west; are most of them, as their name implies, black, woolly-thick-lipped men, as compared with the copper-coloured

Polynesians. I may say that M. Quatrefages, in the 'Revue des deux Mondes,' in the year 1864*, gives a surprisingly correct account of them, so far as I have been able to judge. The Melanesian languages have not the softness of the Maori, owing to their pronouncing consonants together, and ending their words in consonants as frequently we English do ours. The following names of boys that I have taught will illustrate this:—Sellok, Uben, Kaletong, Nabong, Didimang, Kowembat.

All these Melanesian and Polynesian languages have, as far as I have known or heard, one peculiarity in common; and that is, they express number in two different ways, according as it is spoken of men, or any other animals or things. Three *persons*, that clumsy word of ours, is *toko-toru* in Maori, and *avata-tene* in Nengone; whereas three things is *e-toru* in Maori, and *tene* alone in Nengone.

The natives of Nengone, near New Caledonia, have two languages, according as they address a chief, or an equal, which perhaps will explain the old homeric formula of *ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοὶ ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον*. The only common word that I remember as resembling an Indo-European language, is the word for "woman" in Nengone, which is *minewe*, and resembles the Singhalese word *miniha* for *man*.

There are probably upwards of 200 languages in the 100 islands within the range I have spoken of, any two of which are said by Bishop Patteson, who has learnt *ab initio* and reduced to writing, grammar, and literature at least 20, to be as different as Dutch and German. The remedy for this Babel of tongues is the wonderful love of enterprise that inspires them, and leads them to run down against the quarter of the trade-wind in a canoe, whenever the wind changes for a few days. If they miss their mark, they go out to sea and are lost. A successful explorer is the cynosure of all eyes; and therefore a knowledge of half a dozen languages gains the blue riband of Melanesia. I can illustrate what Sir J. Lubbock says, in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for April 1869, of the Malay ships infesting these islands; the lads of Erromanga and Solomon's Isles have often told me that huge pirate ships, as large as our men-of-war, crowded with copper-coloured natives, occasionally infest their seas.

This love of enterprise is the counterpoise to their extraordinarily *conservative* habits. The Bishop of New Zealand had an opportunity of observing this conservative temper at Santa Maria. As he sat in his boat, he was reading Don Quiros's narrative of his voyage thither 200 years ago; Don Quiros said

* February; also published in a separate work, 'Les Polynésiens et leurs migrations,' Paris.

people at the entrance of the harbour received him when he left them, and was rounding a point, they fired arrows at him. So their descendants did kindly to the bishop at the entrance, and then he saw them march to the same point, and then they shot their arrows; but the bishop took Don Quiros's hint to keep out of range of their

to conclude this short and hasty sketch of them without more. I have heard them trying to tempt some of us to visit their islands, and teach them our religion and customs; and they have used the very identical words that the myriad-minded poet puts into the mouth of Caliban; and I often wondered at the insight he had into *all* human nature when I have heard one of them say "*ipsissimis verbis*"

"I prithee, let me bring thee where crabs grow,
And I with my long nails will dig the pigments,
Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how
To snare the nimble marmoset. I'll bring thee
To clustering filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee
Young scamels from the rocks."—*Tempest*, Act ii. Sc. 2.

I will only add this one word about the curious way in which they get fresh water on some of the coral islands, such as those where there is none on the surface. Two go out to sea, and dive down at some spot where they know there is a fresh-water spring, and they alternately stand on one another's backs to keep down the one that is drinking at the bottom, before the pure water mixes with the surrounding salt

Observations on the Inhabitants and the Antiquities of Easter Island.

—, H.M.S. Topaze, Dec. 1868.

At Callao on the eve of 21st October, and were off Easter Island in the early morning of November 1, doing our 2100 miles in 230 hours. The look of the island was not good, as we saw but three houses. Two boats made for the shore, the one was a French captain, M. Bornier, who had lost his boat, which brought from Tahiti all kinds of things necessary for the mission, and after doing its work was wrecked in the bay. So came off to us some Kanakas (natives), who we found were Christians, the result of the labours of Pères Roussel and of the Mission du Sacré Cœur. A party of us called on the island in the afternoon. They had been on the island some three days, and one of the devout attendants at our morning service had intended, on their first landing, to have had a house the picture constructed of M. Roussel (they having made a

banquet of some Spaniards four years ago). There had been a missionary before; but he had been only a slave to the head chief. When M. Roussel landed, it happened that one of the principal chiefs took up a stone with a menacing gesture and made as though he would brain him; but Roussel was equal to the occasion, and quietly felled him with his walking-stick, then pursuing his walk into the village. This settled matters, and the Pères have lived quietly ever since. There was a huge plundering of the islanders about four years ago: some seven ships, chartered by Peruvians, buccaneered, it is said, about 1500; and now there is but one settlement on the island, of about 900 people, and only one third females. As the deaths double the births, probably soon only records of this people will exist. You will easily see, in 'Cook's Voyages,' what are the lions of the place, the great images, which are not idols, as the people believed in one Spirit-God ("Maké Maké"), who made man grow from the ground. Two of the smaller images have been removed from the island and taken on board, viz. Hoa-Haoa of Makeveré (*i. e.* Place of the great Centipede), and Hoa-Haka-Nana-Fa of Tau-re-enge; they are destined for the British Museum. These were the work of a former race; the present one came here more recently, banished, it is said, from Oparo, or Kapa-iti, as they call it. There must have been at one time an abundant population, and they appear to have adopted the religion which they found upon the island.

When we landed, there was a grand crowd, all men. The clothing was a minimum, just a maro, or a kind of square blanket made of the paper-mulberry shrub fibre. Some, however, had shirts, and even hats, coats, and trowsers, got from whalers; some printed calico roundabouts—a very motley crew, all equally noisy and exultant, and crying the welcome "Koho-mai" ("How d'ye do?"), all wishing to walk near you, shake hands, sell and buy, to have backsheesh of tobacco, anything, and above all things one's breeches. One of the chiefs we met (of whom there are but four now) particularly coveted mine, and wished me much to exchange them for his baton of office. The people are not tall, nor clean, nor robust, olive-coloured like the Tahiti people; some of the younger ones have very intelligent faces. Tattooing is being proscribed, and is not much seen except among the older ones; but, strangely, the women, who have not much tattooed in the other islands, are here tattooed from below the girdle.

The houses are small, the largest 30 feet long and not more than 5½ high, made of grass, in the same way as a beehive, but in shape like a sausage. The door is only about 18 in. each way—no chimney, or window; and to close it they use a net, to keep out the fowls. The people huddle together in these hives

ees ; no wonder, then, that consumption (which they infectious) should be making terrible inroads among them. Went up to the Mission ; and near the Cook's Bay is a school, in charge of Père Gaspar ; close by in a yard full of rabbits, which have been brought here, as the animals on the island are rats ; there are plenty of flies, bees, and butterflies, a few beetles, centipedes, &c. ; but I saw no worms. At present there are no trees on the island, but that there were having been destroyed in the islanders' time there are a few shrubs, as the paper-mulberry (*Miro-miro*) and of pourou-tree (the hibiscus). There are in the island many of the useful herbs, as onions &c., also some grape-vines in sorry plight ; and even the hardy acacia does not

The natives manage to grow the paper-mulberry by planting it in enclosures with walls of lava some 4 feet high. The potato and sugar-cane are indigenous, and also some yams and bananas ; and Indian corn is being planted. There is also a gourd, which seems to have been much used as a food. The soil and look of the ground are extremely similar to that of the island of Mauritius, and so it, of course, will grow well if only water is given it. But the people are awfully improvident, and profuse. There seem to be plenty of fowls ; and, quiring what certain squarish buildings were, 5 feet high and 10 long, I was told hen-houses, where the fowls go to lay their eggs.

Next day (Monday) I did not land, but the Pères came on. On Tuesday I went (with Commodore Purvis) to Ovié (the platform) at the other side of the island (see Chart). The journey was a tedious one, all the surface of the ground being covered with lava stones of various sizes, the paths big enough to step from one foot before the other, and a dry tufty yellow grass about 2 inches high, very fine and slippery, growing everywhere. There is also the common vervain, which has, after being improved by M. Bornier, grown to preposterous dimensions everywhere in some places shoulder high ; a tall sedge is equally common. I may here say that the language is so poor that all things, even the paper-mulberry, are called Moo-koo (synonymously I think, with "green stuff"). The island being eminently volcanic, one finds long flattish valleys and plains, with rounded hills, and hills having craters ; so that, in addition to the lava, everywhere one finds splinters of obsidian (volcanic glass) ; and on the first path was a huge hill which I was told was almost entirely made of this substance. Halfway we passed Makaveré. On going to the platform we found the whole place in ruins, everything thrown down long since. The platform was at least 100 feet long, and made of huge dressed blocks of lava from 7 to

8 feet long, fitted together without mortar, and not plane, but slightly rounded. Since the images have fallen, there has been built under three of them, whose chests were just visible in the twilight, a crypt, to which there two entrances, just big enough to crawl into. We found many bones : they were stout ; but on putting the skeleton together, I found the man would not have been more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, but very muscular. I could not feel sure of the date of the skulls, one of which resembled the New-Zealand heads. The images were all on their faces, which were hidden in the earth and rubbish, all falling N.W. They were comparatively small, 16 to 17 feet high, of grey conglomerate lava. Their hats (?) made of red vesicate lava (and which come from only one quarry on the island) were much decayed by weather. Near the platform, and of the same material as the hats, was a queer pillar with a saddle-shaped top, on which "dead" (probably victims) were exposed. I saw a lot of burnt bones at its base. Further on was a very well made one. There is also another pillar, about which I don't like to hazard conjecture ; also a cemetery (Papa-koo).

Everything was in ruins ; but yet on all sides there were proofs that the ground had been in a state of high cultivation—for instance, the presence of the three or four stones piled on one another which taboo the plantations from filchings. Yet now nothing but patches of miserable self-planted sugar-canes and half-hoed potatoes are to be seen. On asking if there was any water, which in old travels is said not to have existed, we were directly taken to a very pretty natural grotto in the lava cliffs on the sea-shore. There was a small tunnel and also a tunnel just big enough for a man to enter. We sent in a small boy ; and from the time he took, I think it must be about 20 yards long. The water was very cold, and pure, with a suspicion of iron. After lunch we started away up to the crater Te Rano Kau. We passed one crater quite old, whose floor had been planted for ages ; near it was an image whose name I forget, and another cemetery, more recent ; and at last we came on really a superb crater, about 500 feet in mean depth and over 1000 yards across at the bottom. The edges are irregular in height ; all the centre is filled with water, on which bay-plants, &c., have grown, so as only to have left a few pools. Our youngsters took headers into some of these, and found there were 26 feet of water in some. The edges and sides of the crater are covered with grass wherever it can grow, high shrubs at the bottom ; and M. Bornier has quite a farm plantation down there on the sheltered side. We sent down a boy for a bottle of water, which is good enough. According to Forster (*Cook's Voyages*) you would think no people could live where there is so little water ; but it is really

not so scarce as he thinks. There are signs (and tradition confirms them) that once there must have been plenty of trees; and I saw watercourses. Now the natives continually chew sugarcane and raw sweet potato, which tastes like chestnut, to quench thirst, and will not take bad water.

The next day (Wednesday) I did not land, as I was preparing for a distant war-path. I wanted to see the place where the lava images were made (crater of Otu-iti), and whence the legend says they walked in the time of King Tou-Kou-you, who after death was changed into a butterfly. So four of us started the next day (Thursday) to Otu-iti ("the little hill"). We had five very intelligent youngsters with us as porters. We landed about eleven, and about midday came to the crater where the hats are. Some of them are very large, one over $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. You may imagine the trouble it must have taken to send its hat to each respective wearer.

As a rule, the island is easy walking; but the paths are trying. We saw abundant signs of cultivation everywhere; near the hat crater was a small spring of sulphuretted-iron water, which we found very good to quench thirst. After one hour and a half's walk we sat to rest in a grove of bushes 10 feet high, found water again, but not very good. Then we struck towards the shore, and soon came to a huge platform, on and about which were scattered the remains of fifteen images, one of which measured 24 feet. This platform had two terraces and a queer-shaped red lava pillar, on which I found two very bleached skulls of youngish people; plenty of bones about and over all the platform; more platforms in sight all along the coast. The images are all very much defaced, and, as a rule, face downwards. There were saddle-shaped corpse-stones and cemeteries near, abundance of good fresh water, and a nice little bay in the neighbourhood; wind foul for landing. From this platform we passed by another, and more cemeteries, and the road was more level and broad—though, as we went by the path of the coast, it was the reverse of straight. An iron-bound coast, no trees, no flowers, no natives, no beasts but timid rats, an island of the dead. Then we began to meet the images on their walk from the crater; as they had not yet been on their platforms, they had not their hats on, and were lying face downwards. Some were very large, 30 feet or more, and all of the same material, quite overgrown with lichen. We began to count and measure them accurately, but soon gave it up, as there were such a lot of them on each side of the road. I did not find out that they had yet been named. We walked on, and at four o'clock came to Otu-iti; and there were the images, a vast quantity, faces 20 feet long, many of them standing, and in superb condition, but not on platforms, nor had any of them hats on.

We have had a discussion with our guides as to where we should pass the night, and finally decided for the crater, where there was shelter and water. So up we went, such a climb! You should have seen our night-chamber, just a shelf of rock on the edge of the crater, whence an image had been dislodged, so that the hollow provided us with roof and bed. It was 5.30; and as the sun set at 6.30, no time was to be lost; so, while my friends looked after the provender and fire and sent for water, I saw dry grass plucked for bedding, and raised on a line of vervain bushes a curtain of dracæna-leaves to keep out the wind. We had dinner and a pipe, and at 9.30 subsided.

At 5 A.M. (Friday) we were up; and after breakfast I went at my sketches. Close to our resting-place was an unborn image, the pretty dear was only about 24 feet long, had but one eye as yet; but his face was "the moral of papa's," his back holding on stoutly to the parent lava. We saw several in course of production. It seems strange that all these giants should have been sculpted without any metal tool. Of this we have proof. On the beach are formed long pebbles of hard lava, like a rolling-pin (native name, "Te maia Eringa runga"). These were mostly made into chisels, each very like a monstrous front tooth, by being first chipped and then rubbed down on some harder rock, such as obsidian. I had sometimes wondered why odd lumps had been left on the finished image; but time explained it; the lumps were harder than the chisel, and so were left. One of these is going to the British Museum.

The crater of Otu-iti is, for size, nothing in comparison to that of Te Rano Kau; but at one place there are cliffs of grey lava 300 feet sheer. This is close by the outside images which, as well as the inside ones, can by no person be thought uninteresting. Towards the sea, about a mile off, was a platform, where there were some twenty images of the largest size. I do not think I said that they have always their backs to the sea. These twenty looked, from where we were, like a huge battery with guns in position. The crater also was quite overgrown with tall reeds &c., so that, once on its level, you could not see your way, and in walking you sank in.

After filling our water-flasks, we left about 8.20, this time by the direct route. Plenty of cultivation still evident (taboo-stones, &c.); but the images are gods of the sea and not of the plain, so we passed only two, 24 to 27 feet, and very few cemeteries. We found no good water till we came to the hat-quarry, and reached the ship early in the afternoon.

Next day (Saturday) I proposed to go to the grottos I had heard were up near the crater Te Rano Kau. I had heard that it was a long uphill walk; but as our people had got the image

ive tons) thence, I thought I might get up. Judge
rise when I found that in all essential particulars they
ke Picts houses at Moss-gail, on Sir J. Mathieson's
r Stornoway, in the Hebrides, where, many years since,
h pleasure in looking over some of the most interesting
alled Druidical) in Britain. The entrance to each house
all (20 inches medium), a kind of portal like a square
3 5 feet long, hollow underneath and flagged, the drain
some feet outside as in the Duns in Shetland, and
in particular. This drain the guides said was for the
victims?). This entrance opened into a hall, about
es long by five paces wide and $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. I paced
one: the side flags were 3 or 4 feet high above;
a series of flattish tiles of stone, piled over like oyster-
l, for the roof, long thin slabs, the whole covered with
stone pavement. There was a great deal of a small
growing. Opposite the entrance were rude mural
in red ochre, usually of "Rapas." I cannot tell you
ng of this word, as no one could tell me; a thing like
paddle which they shake in the dance is also so called.
on the tiling flags, were "Aronies." I was told they
s, but tradition does not say of what kind; they have
e toucan bill, somewhat penguin-shaped body, but, in
s, hands and feet (see Catherwood's 'Central America').
he paintings were recent enough, as I saw ships with
orses, sheep; some of them very old.
age Hoa-Hava Nana-Ta is the sacred image of this place
(no other there); so all the natives told me; and I went
r barrows but found none. He also had his back to the
aced the crater. I did not count the number of the
it think there must be more than a hundred. Some
some two chambers; some, little chambers outside; all,
e blind drain for the dead. The barrows are irregu-
t, so as to take advantage of the ground and extend
he edge of the cliff. The vervain has so overrun them
e it difficult to plan and number them at a rapid visit.
d of this settlement, which is close to the gap whence
escaped, almost all the blocks of lava are more or less
l; but as they are weatherworn, and the material pe-
nd overgrown, it is difficult to make out the design—so
that I made the coloured sketch I sent you without
g at the time that one represented a face, which quite
ie on looking at my work. I wish I could have spent some
y, the whole night, up there, working away with my
at at 2.30 was the last boat, and so duty called me away
ost interesting place.

J. L. PALMER.

XXV.—On the Westerly Drifting of Nomades from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century. By H. W. HOWORTH, Esq. Part II. The Seljuks, Ghaznevides, &c.

(Part I. was published in the First Number of this Journal, pp. 12–34.)

IN a former paper I have endeavoured to trace the chief migrations of the Nomade nations of Central Asia and of Eastern Europe, from the time of Zenghiz Khan down to the present day. I shall now take up the thread again and continue my story.

We have done with one great branch of the Turks, namely the Osmanli. We have traced them to their original nucleus in a small tribe of Oghuz Turks, who took service under one of the Seljuk sultans of Iconium. My next subject is the history of these Seljuks or Seljuki, the Turks of the Crusaders, a race occupying no mean place in the history of the 11th and two succeeding centuries. I have little new to tell about them, for every accessible authority has been long since ransacked. I shall endeavour to reconcile the somewhat conflicting accounts of De Guignes and other authors. In the first place I cannot accept the very fanciful theory of Dr. Latham, that the name Seljuk is but another form of Seleucus, and that in the Seljuki we have the nominal successors of the Seleucidæ. I cannot believe that the fame of the Greek dynasty of Babylon was great enough, or long-lived enough, to have survived the intervening dominion of the Romans and the Arabs; nor can I believe that the infidel Greeks and their traditions would be so endeared to the imagination of true believers that they would care to adopt their name. The idea savours of western notions, and is contrary to all eastern modes of thought. I am faithful in such matters to the well-guarded genealogies of the East; witness the pride of Timour and of Mahmoud of Ghazni in such matters. Dr. Latham's statement that the identity of the traditional Seljuk is as uncertain as that of Romulus, is a gross exaggeration. He who claimed to be grandson of Seljuk was the great Thogrul Bey, a name well known to the Greek as well as the Arab writers, and well within the range of close criticism. It would be strange to find that one so widely celebrated could tell nothing of his grandfather. Besides, the fact of a Turkish tribe taking the name of some renowned chieftain is a common, I may say *is* the common practice; and in this case, as in the case of the Uzbeks, the chieftain is reputed to have been the first of his race to adopt Islam, to have been, in fact, the first true believer. I follow therefore the accounts of Abulghazi, Abulfeda, and the other authorities trusted by De Guignes, Gibbon, &c. &c. Seljuk, according to these, was a

the Gusses, or Uzduy, the Turks of Kaptchak, of the Uz-begs in fact, and, as we shall show, of the Chinese. He took his tribe across the Jaxartes, at Jond, in the territory of Bokhara, where he died, bringing Mohamedanism, leaving three sons, Nukhail, Mousa. Mahmoud of Ghazni compelled these chiefs over into Khorassan. They settled near Merow, plundered the country as far as Ispahan, Rei, and d. 1029. Nukhail had two sons, Thogrul and Jau- with Thogrul Bey that the really important history of the Turks begins. In 1039, after some varied adventures, aided by De Guignes, Thogrul fought a great battle with the successor of Mahmoud of Ghazni, defeated him. He mounted the throne of the Ghaznevides, and thereby acquired Khorassan. He placed several districts. He now conquered Balkh and took Hamadan and Rei.

These conquests an independent horde of Turks, under the uncle of Thogrul, invaded and ravaged Syria, Mesopotamia, Diarbekr, their head quarters being apparently

in Persia, the cousin and deputy of Thogrul, was driven out of Persia by the Arabs, assisted by the Greeks, then massacred. This first brought the Turkish sultan into contact with the empire of Constantinople. In 1050, the former collected the forces of Irak and Persia. Constantine added to his army 10,000 *Patzinaces*, commanded by their own chiefs, transported by sea into Iberia, the scene of the war. The Turks proved treacherous. The Turks were as yet afraid of the Greeks, and no decisive battle ensued. Thogrul took Ispahan, the capital of Persia, and deposed the sultan of the family of the Bouides. He now craved for the hands of the Khalif. In 1057, he went to the Khalif and received from him the head of his faith, who was dressed in black robes, and had in his hand the mystic rod of the prophet, the proud title of Governor of all the Mussulmans. Thogrul ravaged Iberia and parts of Great Armenia. During this period the Turks, like hornets, were fretting the eastern defences of the empire. In Georgia and Armenia the weak and ill-chosen soldiers of the Greeks were no match for the Turks, who ventured even as far as Phrygia. Thogrul died in 1062, without issue, and was succeeded by Alp Arslan, the son of his brother Daoud. The task of Alp Arslan was to overrun Maver-ul-Neer (Transoxiana), and reduce certain rebellious chieftains there. He crossed the Euphrates, ravaged Cappadocia and Cili-

cia, and returned by way of Aleppo, laden with booty. Armenia and Georgia were entirely subdued, the Koran being urged upon their inhabitants at the point of the sword. He received a great check in the war he fought with Romanus Diogenes. But still his Turks crept on, and ravaged the inland districts of Lycaonia and Pisidia. In 1071, Romanus hazarded a great battle, in which he was assisted by European allies—among them, by a Moldavian contingent of the *Uzi*, of whom more presently. He was defeated and taken prisoner; and his interview with Alp Arslan is one of the best-told episodes in the pages of Gibbon.

Alp Arslan was murdered in 1072, and was succeeded by his son, Malek Schah. In 1076, one of his generals, Atfiz Khan, invaded the dominion of the Egyptian or Fatimite caliphs. Daurus, Emessa, and the greater part of Syria submitted. Atfiz advanced as far as Cairo, before which town he was defeated. On his return he pillaged Jerusalem. In 1089, Malek Schah crossed the Oxus, took Samarcand, and compelled the king of Kashgar to coin money with his name on it.

Malek Schah died in 1092; his empire then extended from the confines of Egypt to Chinese Tartary. This empire was of a feudal nature. In many places, notably on the borders of Syria and Asia Minor, and in Transoxiana, semiindependent chieftains, who all claimed to be Seljuks, ruled over portions of territory. They were known as Atabegs. They acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultan, and paid him tribute in men and money; otherwise they were independent, even to making war on their own account. The supreme sultans, they in whose name prayer was offered at Baghdad, the descendants of Alp Arslan, are known as the Sultans of Persia. Malek was the last of these who was acknowledged by the greater vassals. He was succeeded in turn by each of his four sons, Mahmoud, Barkiarok, Mohammed, and Sandjiar, during whose reign Syria and Persia were the scenes of constant war, petty princes rising up in every small town. This period is marked by the great ravages committed by the Assassins, whose doings are well told by De Guignes. It is also the period of the First Crusade.

The mutual squabbles of the Seljuks in Persia, and their quarrels with the Khalifs, are too tedious to relate, nor are they of interest to the Ethnologist. In 1141, Sandjiar was defeated in Transoxiana by the sultan of Charizme, in alliance with the Khitans, who had lately invaded Maouarennahar, a race to whom I shall have to refer directly.

Sandjiar Masoud died in 1152; and with him fell the main influence of the Persian Seljuks. His successor was defeated and taken prisoner by the Uzes, who had in great numbers

invaded Persia and Khorassan, having been pushed forward by the Khitans.

In 1161, Persia was invaded by the Abkhazians, who lived between the Georgians and Circassians, and they ravaged the country as far as Casvin. The empire now rapidly broke to pieces, independent khans rising up in Khorassan and other provinces. About 1198 the death of Thogrul closed the list of sultans. The khans of Charizmia conquered nearly all Persia, and invaded Syria, and the few princes still left were crushed out by the Mongols. So much for the main lines of the Seljuks, who had for 158 years held dominion over the best portions of South-western Asia.

I must now refer to one or two minor dynasties, who are important for our purpose. These were originally families who held the governorship of provinces, whose rule became hereditary and eventually independent. One of these was that of the Seljuks of Kerman, situated between the Persian provinces of Fars, Sedjestan, and Mekran. Another was that of the Seljuks of Aleppo, who ruled over Syria, Diarbekr, and Baghdad. It was these Seljuks who fill such a large space in the history of the First Crusade. These, although interesting to the historian, have little of interest to the Ethnologist. We pass on to a third dynasty, namely, that of Iconium. This was founded by Soliman, the son of Coutoulmisch, in the time of Sultan Malek. He advanced with his Turks into Asia Minor, took Nicea, the capital of Bithynia, which became his capital. About this time we first hear of the name Turkey, as applied to this conquest. It was bounded on the east by Great Armenia and a part of Georgia; on the north by the Black Sea; on the south by Little Armenia, a part of Cilicia, and the sea, opposite Cyprus; and on the west extended as far as the town of Attalia on the sea. It included the ancient Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Isauria, Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, and the country round Trebizond. Soliman died in 1086, after having reduced Antioch and its dependent cities. His death was followed by confusion, in which the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, gained some advantages over the Turks.

In 1092 Kilidje Arslan, the eldest son of Soliman, succeeded to a broken empire. One of the independent emirs, named Tzachas, in the western parts of Asia Minor, pressed the Greeks very hard, and from his base at Smyrna overran all the sea-board and the islands. He was at length killed by the Sultan, and his dominions annexed.

In 1096 occurred the First Crusade. The Crusaders setting out from Constantinople, first took Nice, the Seljukian capital, in Turkey, then passed through Bithynia and Pisidia, desolating

the Turkish towns; the weakness of the sultan caused the emirs to revolt, and set up independent sovereignties, as at Ephesus, Rhodes, &c. After some victories over the Crusaders, and somewhat reestablishing his supremacy in Asia Minor, Kilidje Arslan died in 1107.

In 1113 a large army of Turks from Persia ravaged Asia Minor. The successes of the Crusaders, however, broke the power of the Turks for a while, and Alexius occupied the cities of Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Nicæa, &c., and the Turks were confined to the inland districts, and cut off from the sea. It was then they chose the remote and almost inaccessible Iconium as their capital. The Crusaders had founded their kingdom of Jerusalem, with its appendant principalities of Antioch, Edessa, &c., and it often went hard with the Turks. It is impossible in my short space (nor would it be interesting) to relate the long story of the squabbles of Greeks and Franks at Constantinople, of Franks, Turks, and Arabs in Syria, by which the power of the Christians was gradually sapped.

In 1144 Edessa was taken by the Turkish emir of Moussul. This led to the Second Crusade, in which Asia Minor was again the scene of protracted struggles between the Franks and the Turks, under their Sultan Massoud, in which the former generally got the worst of it. Massoud died in 1155, and divided his empire among his sons. The enumeration of its provinces may show the extent of Turkish dominion at this period:—One son got Iconium, with its dependencies; another Amasia, Ancyra, Cappadocia, and the surrounding districts; a third the towns of Cæsarea and Sebaste.

The same monotonous course of events followed on this partition,—towns ravaged on either hand, by Greeks and Turks, the former growing weaker, the latter constantly recruited from the apparently perennial fountains of population beyond the Caspian.

While the Turks were thus engaged in Asia Minor, Saladdin, the great hero of the Kurds, had usurped the government of Egypt, and reduced to obedience the Atabegs, or Seljuk emirs of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbekr. In 1187 he took Jerusalem. His subsequent history is a part of that of the Third Crusade. He died in 1193. In 1204 Constantinople was taken by the Franks. About this time, Theodore Lascaris, in a battle with the Sultan, killed him, and having taken Nicæa and Antioch formed a state, known as the Empire of Nicæa, a short-lived power. The Seljuks gradually crept eastward, as well as westward, and gained a long-lived supremacy for the Turks in Georgia. Another people, whom we have already described, now appeared on the further horizon of Persia. The Mongols,

ghiz, attacked and destroyed the empire of Charizmia. rs, with their followers, fled, crossed the Oxus, and ria. The descendants of Saladdin, in Syria, and the mirs, jealous of each other, continued an irritating , while the Mongols kept advancing. In 1242, the Iconium, with a motley army of Greeks, Franks, , Arabs, Armenians, and Turks, was defeated by them, took Cæsarea and other towns, and reduced the Turks to dependence on Caracorum. The chroniclers tell any Turks under their emirs retired into the moun- thence carried on perpetual skirmishes and fights with Mongols and Greeks, the former of whom tossed e of Iconium from one adventurer to another. In

Massoud the 2nd, and with him, according to De perished the empire of the Seljuks of Iconium. The of the Mongols at length enabled the descendants of endent emirs to descend from their mountains in d they formed out of the old empire eleven principal- enumerated by De Guignes :—1st, Anatolia, of which as the capital, it had 40,000 soldiers ; 2nd, Runlas or chief town Foukeh, and 30,000 soldiers ; 3rd, Barki (comprising Caria and Lydia), with 10,000 soldiers ; bardil or Magneschia (Magnesia), with 8000 soldiers ; a or Aktara, capital Kardama, and having only a small h, *The kingdom of Orkhan, son of Othman*, of which s the capital, it had 25,000 soldiers ; 7th, Gherman or capital Kontai (Cotyceum); this emirship, the most of them all, comprised the country watered by the ; it had 40,000 cavalry ; 8th, Kardela or Schahim, with liers ; 9th, Koubek hisar, with 3000 ; 10th, Castamon ; y, Armenak or Caramaina, with 40,000 soldiers. Be- se chief states, there were also a few unimportant prin-

I have already described how they were all swallowed : Empire of the Osmanli, whose nucleus was the little umbered 6 in the above list.

ompletes the chronicle of the Seljuk power in Western d I will now endeavour to sum up its effect from an al point of view. Asia Minor is now so essentially topography and in association, that it is hard to believe s no longer ago than about 1050 when its first Turk crossed the Euphrates ; I mean invaders who settled Before 1050 Asia Minor was divided between the the Kurds, the Arabs, the Armenians, and the various tribes—all still found there in disjointed fragments ; e do nothing more, we simplify our ethnography very en we eliminate from Asiatic Turkey that overwhelm-

ing element which has given to it its name and character. Since 1050, and especially during the Seljuk occupation, wave after wave of Nomades has overrun the country. Some of them have intermarried with the natives, and settled in the towns, forming a portion of the population very distinct from the Turcoman hordes who inhabit the bleak pasture-lands of the interior, who are divided into the two well-known hordes of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep.

The great Mongol invasion of Zenghiz and the subsequent inroad of Timour drove large bodies of Turks from Transoxiana, and flooded all Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor with fresh bodies of Nomades; and it is to these and other causes, operating beyond the Oxus, that we must assign the immense accession of Turk blood that has continuously harassed southern Asia ever since. The Euphrates formed the western boundary of Turk occupation in the eleventh century. East of that river, Turks already existed in some numbers, though of course not as the preponderating element they became after the conquests of the Seljuki. How these Turks came there, and when, is the next step in our inquiry. We are still trusting to the same authorities and guides.

The ninth century was a period of crusading energy, if I may use the phrase, among the Arab conquerors of Persia. The chief scene of their struggles was the land between the Oxus and the Jaxartes; and their missionaries traversed the wilds of Turkestan and Kaptchak beyond the latter river. The dynasty of the Samanides was at length seated on the throne of Transoxiana and Khorassan, and held it as an appanage of the Khalifate. The conquest of the frontier Turks, and their conversion, led to the importation of multitudes of Turkish slaves into all the countries subject to Baghdad. Clever and chivalrous, they became first the trusted servants, then the masters of the khalifs and their emirs, and founded several dynasties.

Thus in 961 Ismael, the second ruler of the dynasty of the Samanides was succeeded in a portion of his dominions by a Turk named Alp Teghin, who had been first his slave, then the commander-in-chief of his army, and who having taken Ghazni, formed there a principality, where he died in 975. Another Turk, Sebek Teghin, succeeded him, and was confirmed by the Samanide sovereign. He defeated several Indian rajahs, and took some towns on the Indus.

The Turks now began to flood Maouarennahar. The Khan of Kaschgar Bograkhán invaded the same country; and at the same time the Samanide chief of Bokhara had to make way against rebellious subjects. For assistance rendered while in these straits, Mahmoud, the son of Sebek teghin, was made

Isabour, or Nishapore, as it is sometimes written. The death of his father, Mahmoud became ruler of Persia. In 998 he usurped the power of the Samanides in Persia. Having secured his rear by marrying the daughter of the Ghazni khan, he now began that series of Indian campaigns which has made his name a household word. His slaughter of the infidels, there penned in over-populous shambles, and the acquisition of him the proud title of Gazi; while gold and booty from the Indian temples, enabled him to increase his power in Asia with all the accelerating power of a generous policy. In 1002 he took Sedjestan, and adopted the title of Shah, first used for the first time. In 1004 he conquered Herat and of Moultan. In 1009 he received tribute from the Emperor of India, the Emperor of Guzerat. In 1017 he extended his empire in all directions, and extended his empire to the Ganges. During all this while he also carried on his wars on northern and western frontiers. The Turks who were constantly pressing forward. In 1006 he defeated them severely, driving them out of Persia.

The family of the Bouides was now divided into two branches. One of these, which reigned in Irak, was, in 1030, succeeded by Mahmoud, who thus acquired its capital, Casvin, &c. He died in 1030. In 1031 his son, Massoud, subdued all the rest of Persia, except the parts lying along the Persian Gulf. In 1033 he conquered Georgia and Tabarestan.

The Turks, under their leader Thogrul, now began their conquests as we have already related. In 1039 they defeated the Bouides and plundered Khorassan; and in 1041 he was imprisoned by his brother. The catalogue of his dominions is an extensive one; I copy it from De Guignes:—Persian Irak, Mazanderan, Djiordjian, Khorassan, Kharismie, Sedjestan, Kerman, Mekran, Sinde, Arroukhadjia, Zand Ghour.

Massoud was succeeded by his son Madoud, who, although he continued his Indian campaigns beyond the further limits of Persia, was himself hard-pressed in turn by the Ghaznis. His death was followed by a rapid succession of weak rulers who gradually became weaker. At length, in 1114, the Ghazni sovereign's name preceded theirs in the public recognition of eastern test of dependence; and the dynasty of the Ghaznis at length subverted, in 1155, when its capital was the Gourides, a small dynasty claiming connexion with the ancient line of Persian kings, and formerly governors of the province of Gor.

The dynasty of Ghazni has occupied a very prominent place

in history, chiefly because of its connexion with India, and because of its immense influence in the dissemination of Mahometanism; but from an ethnological point of view it by no means stands out so prominently. The wars of the Arabs with the Turks, to which we have already referred, and which commenced in the days of the great Khalif Othman, and were continued by the Omniades, and later by the Samanide Governors of Khorassan and Transoxiana, inundated Persia with Turkish slaves. The Arabs, with the energy and skill of a youthful power, in the early days of their grandeur, were generally successful, and advanced with their missionaries as far as the Ili on the one hand and the Volga on the other. The Turkish slaves were organized as a militia, and gradually usurped power in different parts of the empire, the khalifs, even, submitting to investiture at their hands. We have shown how they founded one dynasty at Ghazni; another dynasty, celebrated in the history of architecture and the arts, and described by De Guignes as the Thoulonides, usurped the chief power in Egypt and Syria in the ninth century, and was sapped and at length destroyed by the Assassins, whose fantastic creed dates from this period. Another dynasty, known as the Ikhschidites, succeeded in the tenth century to the place of the Thoulonides, and was itself overthrown by the Fatimites. In the meanwhile Armenia was the scene of constant inroads by various Turcoman and Turk robbers, known as *Comans* to the western writers, and as *Uzes* and *Goss* to the Arabs; but the mention of these names reminds me that we must again change our point of view, and travel towards Little Tataria and the eastern and south-eastern frontiers of Europe. Before doing so, however, it will be well to survey our actual progress. Our former halting-stage found the Turkish invasion of the west limited by the Euphrates. We have now removed it to the Oxus. If we would understand the ethnography of the east in the eighth and preceding centuries, we must strip off from India, from Persia, and from Syria the layer of Turkish blood which has so materially affected the surface of their populations. We must replace the predominant Turk caste of Southern Asia by an Arab caste. We must get rid of the notion that the route to Khiva was then harassed on all sides by the Turcomans, and that the great Charizmian desert, east of the Caspian, and all the border-land of Khorassan was the camping-ground of the same robbers. We must rather picture to ourselves the country beyond the *Jaxartes* as the Turk land, while the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes was the real cockpit of Asia, swept by occasional forays both of Turks and of the rival Arab emirs, but with a preponderating population of Persian affinities, represented by the

much-diminished burghers of the Uzbek towns, known as Sarts. I do not mean to say that no Turk blood existed south of the Oxus. The district of Balkh and the various hill states in its neighbourhood are notoriously very deeply infused with an ancient Turk blood; but I would submit that this was not only very partial, but was also limited to the country east of Persia and Khorassan.

The effects of the Turkish flood in Asia have been very much underrated. A very great authority in architecture, Mr. Ferguson, has denied to the Semitic races any creative faculty in that art. This generalization may be profitably extended to other arts and sciences. The Arab mind seems as sterile of knowledge as the deserts whence its inspiration is drawn. Adventurous, fanatical, and capable of great efforts of imagination, the Arab is the very type of man incapable of discipline. How then comes it, it will be asked, that we have such erections as the Alhambra at Granada and the Great Mosque Cathedral at Cordova, as the mosques of Cairo and Damascus—the distinctly marked type of ornamentation we distinguish as arabesque—the curious scientific culture which originated alchemy and algebra, the more curious social culture which distinguished the luxurious courts of Baghdad and the Fatimite Khalifs? Mr. Ferguson and others have tried to show how the Ishmaelitic robbers, who plundered every seaboard, from the Tagus to the Yellow Sea, stole from every conquest some idea, some notion, which was merely assimilated and hardly improved. I doubt the force of this explanation. Before the advent of the Turks, the Arabs of Mesopotamia were as guiltless of culture as the Beduween. It is with the advent of the Turkish slaves in the households of the Arab emirs that we may commence the history of Arabic art. It was the Seljuk sultan of Persia who was the patron of Firdousi; and from the desert of Astrakhan came those Egyptian rulers whose reigns are forgotten when we speak of the Dark Ages. But the Turkish influence did not end here. The Arabs are a race incapable of political organization, and disintegrated as sand. To the Turks the notion of feudality is home-spun; and I doubt whether even the feudal system of the Norsemen had not its origin among them—a paradox whose explanation I must reserve. The grand khan, the lesser khans, and the whole hierarchy of feudalism exist in a perfect form in Turkestan; the notion of subordination is inherent in the Turkish communities; and it is not too much to say that the regeneration of southern Asia and the formation of settled governments there have been entirely due to the Turks.

In consequence of the discovery of some caves at Settle, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, containing relics of prehistoric ages, a Committee has been formed to examine and report upon them. We are glad to see from the following Report, and the first meeting of the Committee, that the exploration promises to be ably conducted. Notices of the discoveries will be given from time to time in this Journal.

SETTLE CAVE-EXPLORATION.

At a Meeting of the Committee held at Settle, on the 13th December, it was unanimously resolved:—

I. That a thorough and systematic exploration of the Caves in the neighbourhood of Settle shall be made.

II. That the following Scheme, proposed by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (Chairman), be adopted, viz.:—1. To examine the ground around the mouth of the caves for signs of fires, implements, utensils, remnants of food, or traces of sepulture. 2. To make a survey of the Caves, in order to provide a plan of the interior drawn to scale and of sufficient size to enable a record to be made on it of the situation in which each thing is found. 3. To ascertain by one or more vertical excavations of limited extent what are the deposits chronologically arranged. 4. Then to proceed to examine these strata from the mouth of the cave inwards, so as to secure the discovery of all remains throwing any light on the history of each stratum. 5. To keep a record of the things discovered in the following form:—

(a) To keep a diary, in which shall be inserted the numbers of each thing found—its superficial position in the plan—and its vertical position, *i. e.* in which stratum it was found. (b) To enter on the Plan in the exact superficial position the number of each thing found and the number of the stratum in which it was discovered. (c) To procure a cabinet with drawers, and to place in separate drawers the things found in the several different strata after they are duly numbered with the superficial number and that of the stratum in which each was found. (d) To keep a catalogue of all things discovered, recording the above numbers, and giving a brief description of each thing and an account of its manner of occurrence.

III. That the following members of the Committee be requested to procure a suitable room for the reception and temporary exhibition of such objects of interest as may be obtained:—Mr. Morrison, Mr. Swale, Mr. R. S. Birkbeck.

IV. That the following members of the Committee be requested to organize a staff of workmen, to consist at present of a superintendent and two workmen:—Mr. Morrison, Mr. Farrer, Mr. Swale, Mr. Stackhouse, Mr. Dawkins, Mr. Tiddeman, Mr. Hughes.

V. That the following members of the Committee be requested to draw up a report of what is already known about the caves:—Mr. Farrer, Mr. Tiddeman, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Dawkins.

VI. That the following members of the Committee be requested to draw up a report on the probable expense and best method of working the caves, and for the purpose of obtaining the necessary information do communicate with others engaged in similar investigations:—Mr. Farrer, Mr. Dawkins, Mr. Swale, Mr. Tiddeman, Mr. Hughes.

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Printed by Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

CLASSIFICATION COMMITTEE.

meeting of the Council of the Ethnological Society, held in the rooms of the Society, 4 St. Martin's Place, on the 23rd February, 1869, Professor Huxley, F.R.S., President, in the presence of the Council, it was resolved, on the proposal of Colonel A. Lane Fox, F.R.S., Sec., to institute a permanent Committee under the auspices of the Society, for the purpose of examining, classifying, and registering all branches of ethnological evidence.

The general objects and functions of the Committee were defined in the following memorandum, which, having been read and discussed, was adopted by the Council as a provisional basis on which to inaugurate the Committee.

MEMORANDUM.

Functions of the Committee.

ADMISSION OF EVIDENCE.—The Committee will examine the validity of all evidence submitted to the Society, or otherwise obtainable, in relation to the science of Man. It will reject all false data, or such as appear to be unauthenticated, or insufficiently proved. It will ascertain, as far as practicable, the period to which all evidence belongs, the locality and date of discovery, the names of the discoverers, witnesses, authors, and such persons as may be able to authenticate the discoveries. It will investigate associated facts, rejecting as such the connexion of which is insufficiently proved or improper. The relative value of all evidence, whether direct or indirect, to be attached to the names of the authors or contributors, according to a scale of abbreviations to be afterwards determined upon.

TERMINOLOGY.—The Committee will decide upon a fixed terminology, as far as may be practicable, for all branches of ethnological evidence.

CLASSIFICATION.—The Committee will classify all facts added in evidence. The classification will be as follows, with abbreviations denoting each grade:—

CLASSES. SUBCLASSES. VARIETIES. SUBVARIETIES. SECTIONS. SUBSECTIONS.

C.	S.C.	V.	S.V.	S.	S.S.
'	"	'''	'''	'''	'''

Each inferior grade will contain subdivisions of the one above it.

The classification will include the following primary divisions, viz.:—1. RACES. 2. LANGUAGES. 3. RELIGIONS. 4. FOLK LORE AND SUPERSTITIONS. 5. LAWS, CUSTOMS, AND INSTITUTIONS. 6. WORKS OF ART AND INDUSTRY.

The first two of these divisions having been made subjects of study for some time, the classifications proposed by various authors will be open to the consideration of the committee; but the remaining divisions afford a new field for classification which it will be the province of the Committee to inaugurate.

When the successive phases of any of the above-mentioned branches of evidence can be ascertained with sufficient certainty to establish a sequence, the several items will be arranged by grades in such a manner that the history of each class may be traced through all the ramifications of its development; when, however, this cannot be done, a provisional classification based upon analogy can be made, subject to revision as fresh evidence accrues. Projects of classification prepared by individual members, after discussion and a consideration of the evidence, may be adopted or modified according to circumstances.

4. CORRESPONDENCE.—The members will communicate with authors and others from whom accurate information may be obtained, and the correspondence will be docketed as far as possible by classes for future reference. Information will also be obtained by means of the "Notes and Queries" in the Quarterly Journal.

5. REGISTRATION.—All facts and all evidence classified in accordance with the provisions of No. 3 will be registered upon sheets provided for the purpose, by means of abbreviations to be hereafter determined upon. The registers will be kept by grades, and will be accompanied by distribution maps. The several columns of the register will include:—1st, the abbreviations denoting the class, subclass, variety, subvariety, &c. of the item registered; 2nd, associated facts, also classified as above; 3rd, the period to which the item belongs; 4th, date of discovery; 5th, date of registry; 6th, the names of the authorities, the abbreviation denoting the value of the evidence as detailed in No. 1, and reference to authors, or to the correspondence of the Committee; 7th, the name of the person by whom the information is communicated to the Committee. There will also be a column

in which an outline sketch of the item may be inserted, when practicable. A form of register and a scale of abbreviations will be submitted to the committee.

6. **DISTRIBUTION.**—Skeleton maps of various sizes will be provided for the purpose of marking the geographical distribution of the several classes, subclasses, varieties, &c.; some of these should correspond to the size of the registers, so as to go in the same covers. Distributions arranged by individual members will be submitted to the Committee and discussed.

7. **REPORTS.**—Reports will be made to the Society from time to time showing the classifications and distributions that have been determined upon. These reports will be illustrated by distribution maps. The registers will also be open to any members of the Society who desire to obtain from them information relating to any special branch of study they may be investigating.

8. In order that the Committee may include amongst its members all the varied knowledge that is necessary to give weight to its decisions, a certain number of non-Fellows will be invited to become members of the Committee.

9. The Committee will be empowered to increase its numbers from time to time, and to appoint Subcommittees for the investigation of particular branches.

10. There will be a President and an Honorary Secretary; and Minutes will be kept of the decisions of the Committee.

SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES TO BE DERIVED FROM THE COMMITTEE.

1. As the science of man must of necessity be opposed to a number of preconceived opinions, it is desirable the evidence on which it is based should be subject to careful scrutiny, and not left to individual judgment.

2. The establishing a fixed terminology will promote accuracy in the discussion of these subjects.

3. By means of classification, an insight will be obtained into the natural growth and order of development of all branches of human culture.

4. The Committee by this means will be enabled to collect a number of isolated facts which are now in the possession of persons who have neither time nor inclination to prepare papers, but who will be glad to avail themselves of the means thus afforded of briefly recording their experience.

5. By means of the distribution maps, the Society will be in a better position to determine, on the one hand, those branches of human culture which appear to be derived from a common source, and, on the other, those which have arisen independently, and to ascertain how far they have been modified by external causes during migration.

6. The distribution maps will be the means of drawing the attention of ethnologists to those regions which are as yet unexplored ; they will show what information is wanted, and where to look for it.

7. As each class of subjects will be registered separately, persons especially qualified for the investigation of particular branches will be able to refer to the registers as a means of prosecuting their studies. By this means will be promoted a division of labour which is necessary to the success of all great undertakings.

8. As, however, the truth can only be promoted by a balance of opinions drawn from a broad basis of evidence, much greater advantage will be derived from a combination of workers, such as is contemplated by the institution of the Committee, than from trusting to the imperfect results of limited individual experience and partial judgment.

LIBRAIRIE A. FRANCK (F. VIEWEG, PROPRIÉTAIRE),
67, rue Richelieu, PARIS.

TRÜBNER AND CO.,
60, Paternoster Row, London. E. C.

THE
« REVUE CELTIQUE »

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE FOR CELTIC PHILOLOGY,
LITERATURE AND HISTORY

EDITED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CHIEF CELTIC SCHOLARS OF THE
BRITISH ISLANDS AND OF THE CONTINENT,

AND CONDUCTED BY

H. GAIDOUZ.

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The investigation of the Celtic languages, literatures and antiquities deserves the attention of the literary and philological world by reason of the important part acted by the Celts in the history of the Ancient World, and the treasures of the Neo-Celtic literatures. Much has been done already for these studies in Great Britain and in Ireland; nevertheless, we dare affirm that more remains to be done yet. The want of union, however, between Celtic scholars is a great obstacle to the progress of these studies. The scholars of the Continent and the scholars of the British Islands have not sufficient knowledge of one another. This is much to be regretted. For continental scholars, the British Islands, that chief stronghold of the Celtic races, are almost out of the world; Virgil's well-known verse is still applicable to them —

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

How can continental scholars know what texts are published, what works are pursued on the other side of the Channel, when no common centre exists for the interchange of such information? On the other hand, the scholars of the insular Celtic countries, who have at their disposal the monuments, the manuscripts, the folklore and the language of their national country, often look in vain for information concerning what is being done on the Continent. Let us have an alliance between the Celtic scholars of every nation and of every country, and light will be shed by and by on the history and the literature of a great

race, so that we may yet say of Celtic scholars what the poet has said of the Celts at large :

Tho' fallen the state of Erin, and changed the Scottish land,
Tho' small the power of Mona, tho' unwoke Llewelyn's band,
Tho' Ambrose Merlin's prophecies degenerate to tales,
And the cloisters of Iona are bemoaned by northern gales —
One in name and in fame
Are the sea-divided Gaels.

Let us hope that the *sea-divided* Celtic scholars once will be *one in name and in fame*, and, as the Scotch saying is, *ri guailibh a cheile*.

We deem that France, between the Celtic countries and the mother-country of philology, Germany, is the fit and proper place for an international Celtic magazine. The inhabitants of Brittany are Celts, too; and Gaulish blood runs yet in the veins of modern Frenchmen. The task of starting a Celtic magazine is all the more attractive that these studies have no representative in the continental Press. True that good papers on these matters appear from time to time in the *Revue Archéologique*, in the *Revue Critique*, and chiefly in the *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*. But Celtic studies are not the main object of these magazines. We wish to start a magazine devoted only to Celtic studies, and comprehending all its sides, Mythology, History, Literary history, and Archaeology, as far as Archaeology immediately illustrates history and Mythology.

Such an undertaking may look rather imprudent when societies, which in the Celtic countries represent these studies disappear one after the other. The Dublin *Ossianic Society* has itself gone into the world of Ossianic shadows; The excellent *Ulster Archaeological Journal* is extinct. The *Irish Archaeological Society* and the *Celtic Society* do not exist any more. The *Royal Irish Academy* and the *Kilkenny Archaeological Society* are left alone to cultivate the field of Irish antiquities. We find at Douglas the active *Manx Society*; in Wales, the flourishing *Cambrian Archaeological Association*. But what has become of the *Welsh mss. Society*, and of the *Cambrian Institute*? In Scotland, in the vicinity of the *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, the *Spalding Club* seems approaching its end. These are apparently sad omens; but we think that these societies have failed in their enterprise, because their character was exclusively local. To confine in a small country studies which awake a general interest, deprives them of the sympathy which they should excite in the whole literary and philological world.

The list of our contributors shows that our magazine is a truly international undertaking, and that it brings together all the forces of the Celtic studies. The most distinguished Celtic scholars of the British Islands and of the Continent have kindly joined us and promised their active co-operation. We intend to publish articles written without distinction in English, French, German or Latin. Should however a certain number of our subscribers express such a wish, we are willing to give in a French translation the papers of our German contributors.

It is our opinion that on many points, and especially questions of origin, Celtic scholars ought to abstain from giving any definitive judgment

until all sources of information be carefully investigated. Therefore we intend to publish materials chiefly, and we shall avoid too affirmative conclusions.

We intend to publish :

Inedited Irish, Scotch-Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish and Breton texts, with translations. We shall carefully select texts interesting either for the Philology or for the History of the Literature, or for the mythology;

Philological essays on the Celtic languages and on their relationship with the other Indo-European languages;

Researches on the religion of the ancient Celts and on Celtic folklore;

Dissertations on the obscure epochs in the history of the Celtic races;

Essays on the history of the Celtic Literatures and on their relations with the mediæval literature of Europe;

A Bibliography, as complete as possible, of all the works concerning Celtic studies published in the British Islands and on the Continent during the course of the year.

We intend further to reprint from time to time interesting and scarce texts or tracts, such as O' Clerigh's Irish Glossary, Griffith Roberts' Welsh Grammar, Bishop Carswell's Gaelic Prayer-book, Gillies' Collection of Gaelic poems, the *Tremen van an ytron Maria* and the *Buhez mab den*, etc.

The following list of the papers which we shall publish in our first numbers will show the composition and the line of the « *Revue celtique* » :

H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE : Étude sur la phonétique du Breton de Vannes.

D^r A. BACMEISTER : Grundzüge der keltischen Etymologie.

Anatole DE BARTHELEMY : Des représentations figurées de la divinité gauloise appelée *Dis Pater* par César (VI, 18).

J. G. CUNO : Kelto-Italische Studien.

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The Rev, John PETERS : On Welsh Phonology.

Adolphe PICTET : Miscellanea Gallica.

Ernest RENAN : Mélanges Bretons.

John RHYS, Welsh Etymology.

— 5 —

Amongst the marks of sympathy which we have met with, we are happy to quote the following communications :

Genève, 25 février 1869.

..... J'applaudis de toutes mes forces à votre projet de fonder une *Revue Celtique*, sur le plan que vous m'indiquez, et je me ferai un devoir et un plaisir d'y contribuer dans la mesure de mes moyens.....

Adolphe PICTET.

Calcutta, 12 jan. '69.

..... I am glad to hear that you contemplate the foundation of a *Celtic Journal*, and your plan seems to me excellent. Such a Journal has been an old dream of mine, which I hoped to realize when (if ever) I returned to Europe. But the details of your plan seem preferable to those of mine. You may count on all the help that I can give you.....

Whitley STOKES.

Dublin, May '69.

Dear friend, As far as my health permits, you may reckon upon all the help I can give you. Your *Revue* will be a work of great importance not only to Celtic studies, but also to Comparative Philology in general.

James H. TODD, D. D.

Oxford, 22 may.

..... I hope that your *Revue Celtique* may succeed. The international system which you have adopted is certainly the right one. If I should ever catch a Celtic fish, I shall gladly send it to your table.....

MAX MULLER.

Paris, 11 juin.

La *Revue Celtique* réalise un de mes vœux les plus chers. Elle sera, je n'en doute pas, l'instrument le plus efficace pour organiser ces études celtiques, chez nous si déplorablement négligées.

E. RENAN.

Berlin, 16 März 1869.

..... Ich begrüße Ihr unternehmen mit freude, da es jedenfalls geeignet sein wird das immer lebhafter werdende interesse an keltischer sprache und geschichte zu fördern, die noch lange nicht genug gewürdigt sind, was zum theil allerdings die schuld derer ist, die sie zu hoch veranschlagt haben. Wenn Sie daher allen zungen den kampfplatz öffnen wollen, so wird es gewiss nicht wenig dazu beitragen, in behandlung aller fragen der art gewissermassen einen Europäischen areopag einzusetzen.....

Adalbert KUHN.

« On nous annonce l'apparition prochaine d'une *Revue Celtique* trimestrielle, dirigée par notre collaborateur M. Gaidoz. Nous ne pouvons que souhaiter de voir ce projet se réaliser; entre les mains de M. Gaidoz, initié aux sévères méthodes de la Philologie comparée, un pareil recueil contribuera sans aucun doute à nous débarrasser des rêveries des Celtomanes, et à faire entrer les études celtiques dans une voie vraiment scientifique. »

Revue Archéologique, N° de mai 1869, p. 385.

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